

## MR. J. J. HARDIN, OF ILLINOIS,

REVIEWING THE

## PUBLIC LIFE &amp; POLITICAL PRINCIPLES OF MR. VAN BUREN.

DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, MARCH 21, 1844.

MR. SPEAKER: The precedent which was set on yesterday by the honorable gentleman from New York, (Mr. STETSON,) in confining his remarks to a defence of Mr. Van Buren, and not alluding to the question before the House, I consider worthy of all imitation; and as the same course was pursued a few days since by a member from Ohio, (Dr. DUNCAN,) I shall "follow in the footsteps of my illustrious predecessors," without once referring to the mock Dorr trial which some warm-blooded and light-headed gentlemen are endeavoring to get up in this House, further than to say, that as the illustrious hero of Chepachet, who is equally celebrated for his mighty feats, in issuing grandiloquent proclamations, and swift running, is now on trial in Rhode Island for offences alleged to have been committed against that State, I am not willing to grant him a *change of venue* to this House, as I know we have enough other business before us, without sending for Governor Dorr and trying to discover whether he is more hero than racer.

With this summary disposition of the Dorrite question, I will read the following resolution, which will be found in a recent number of the Albany Argus, (Mr. Van Buren's New York organ,) which was recently passed at a meeting of "The Young Men's Van Buren Association of Troy," New York.

*"Resolved, That in Martin Van Buren we recognise a faithful manifestation of Democracy, and an EXEMPLAR OF OUR PRINCIPLES, in and through whom there has been a MUTUALITY of benefits. Democracy has made him what he is, and he in turn has reflected an added lustre upon Democracy."*

Taking this as my *text*, I shall proceed to examine the public life of this "manifestation of Democracy," and shall illustrate the *invaluable* public services of this "exemplar of Democratic principles" by a reference to facts and to authenticated and indisputable documents, which will perfectly dazzle his friends and the nation with the "*added lustre* he has reflected upon Democracy."

## CONGRESSIONAL CAUCUS OF 1824.

I shall begin by calling attention to the course pursued by Mr. Van Buren in the Congressional caucus of 1824, which nominated Mr. Crawford for President.

It is well known that the Congressional caucus of 1816 had created much heart-burning in the Republican ranks, although there was a very general concurrence in the party in supporting President Munroe. In 1824 this feeling had gained strength very generally in the Republican party, and throughout the Union; and some of the State Legislatures, as in Tennessee, had passed resolutions condemning it. Several most distinguished men were then presented by their friends for the Presidential chair, amongst whom were Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford, General Jackson, and Mr. Clay. It was generally known and admitted at Washington, that two-thirds of the members of Congress of the Republican party were opposed to any Congressional caucus. Notwithstanding this diversity of opinion, a portion of the members of Congress friendly to Mr. Crawford determined to hold a caucus, and this caused a remonstrance against their proceedings by other members. The result of this state of things was, that two notices were published on the same day in the National Intelligencer, (which will be found in Niles' Register of February 14, 1824,)—one calling a meeting of the members of Congress to nominate a candidate for President, and the other being a remonstrance against any such meeting. This last paper, which is signed by twenty-four members, amongst whom are R. M. Johnson, J. H. Eaton, R. Y. Hayne, S. D. Ingham, Thomas Metcalfe, and J. R. Poinsett, after

stating that they had been requested to ascertain the wishes of their fellow members of Congress on this subject, concludes as follows :

"In compliance with this request, they have obtained from gentlemen representing the several States satisfactory information, that of two hundred and sixty-one, the whole number of members composing the present Congress, there are one hundred and eighty-one who deem it inexpedient, under existing circumstances, to meet in caucus for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President of the United States, and they have good reason to believe that a portion of the remainder will be found unwilling to attend such a meeting."

According to the National Intelligencer and Niles' Register, *February 21st, 1824*, there were at this time two hundred and sixteen Republican members in Congress. Notwithstanding this remonstrance, the friends of Mr. Crawford met in solemn caucus on the 14th of February, 1824, and, after being organised, were found to number only *sixty-six*. Mr. Markley, of Pennsylvania, offered a preamble and resolution to adjourn the meeting to a subsequent day, on account of the absence of so many Republican members; and he further stated, that there was shortly to be a convention in Pennsylvania, from which he desired to hear, before making any nomination. This course would appear both just and Democratic, inasmuch as there were less than a third of the Republican members of Congress present, and less than a fourth of the whole number. But, sir, this fair proposition was opposed and voted down; and who should take the lead in this course, but that "exemplar of Democratic principles," Mr. Van Buren. He made a speech against the resolution, (which will be found in Niles' Register, February 21st, 1824,) from which I will read a few extracts :

"But believing that the adoption of the resolution would be injurious, he was constrained to oppose it." \* \* \*

"Nothing certainly could be more desirable or important than the approving voice of the great and patriotic State of Pennsylvania; but *their approbation could be expressed as well and as efficiently AFTER as BEFORE the meeting here.* \* \* \* He could not think that the judgment on the question they were about submitting to the people would or ought to be influenced materially by the number of which this meeting was composed."

Now, sir, these sentiments of Mr. Van Buren may be a "faithful manifestation of Democracy," as the Troy Democrats understand it; but if they are, it must be of the modern patent Van Buren school. Mr. V. B. earnestly contends that the number of the meeting *would not and ought not* to make any material difference, and in effect asserts that less than a third of the Republican members of Congress had a right to make a nomination of President, which would be binding on the party; and as a *salvo* adds, that if the people were not represented by their members then, "their approbation could be expressed *as well and as efficiently AFTER as before the meeting.*"

This, sir, would be considered a most arrogant assumption of the right to dictate to the people in any other man; but as they are the avowed sentiments of the "exemplar of Democratic principles," it is fair to presume that this is one of his acts which, in the opinion of his friends, has "reflected an added lustre upon Democracy."

The caucus proceeded, under the lead of Mr. Van Buren, who took the most active part in its proceedings, to nominate Mr. Crawford; and the result was, that instead of the people *expressing their approbation after* the nomination, Mr. Crawford received less than a fourth of the electoral votes, and his utter defeat was partly owing to this attempt at dictation by Mr. Van Buren and his other friends.

The excuse which is made for Mr. Van Buren for his course in 1824, in support of Mr. Crawford, is, that it was the usage of the Republican party thus to bring out their candidates, and that he was too good a Democrat ever to break through the established usages of the party. Supposing this to be as his friends insist, yet what excuse will they give for his voting in the caucus for Mr. Crawford, instead of voting for General Jackson? There is none whatever, except that he, in common with other friends of Mr. Crawford, thought this to be a good opportunity of stifling General Jackson's pretensions, and of putting the General under the ban of party proscription.

But as the excuse is the usage of the party, it may be well to inquire whether Mr. Van Buren has always bowed implicitly to the dictation of Congressional Caucusses. I will briefly refresh the recollection of some gentlemen on this point.

## OPPOSITION TO MADISON.

When Mr. Madison's first term of service was about expiring, and our difficulties with Great Britain were evidently approaching a crisis, the large majority of the Republican members of Congress met in caucus at Washington, on the 18th day of May, 1812, (see Niles' Register, May 23, 1812,) and *unanimously* nominated James Madison for re-election. Among those who participated in the proceedings of that meeting, will be found the names of R. M. Johnson, Crawford, Calhoun, Clay, Troup, and Grundy. The nomination being thus fairly made, the question as to the candidate of the Republican party was settled authoritatively, according to the usages of the party. Did Mr. Van Buren support Mr. Madison then? If he was a Republican, and acknowledged the efficacy of the caucus nominations, and the party usages, he was bound to do so. We will see: On the 29th day of May, after a sufficient time had elapsed for the result of the Congressional caucus to be known throughout the East, a caucus was held by some of the members of the Legislature of New York, and De Witt Clinton was nominated for President. Mr. Van Buren was not then in the Legislature of New York. He was then a candidate for the Senate, and a few days afterwards was elected over that sterling Republican, Edward F. Livingston. Mr. V. B. did not take his seat until the Legislature was convened in November, 1812, to elect Presidential electors. In the mean time, events of the utmost importance had transpired. War had been declared against Great Britain on the 13th day of June, 1812, and parties had organized themselves with reference to being for the war, and against the war—the Federalists generally taking sides against the war, and the Republicans for it. The Republicans rallied around Mr. Madison, and the whole energy of the party was necessary for his support, in that trying hour when the disasters of the commencement of that campaign were lowering over the horizon, and were used as bitter subjects of reproach to Mr. Madison and his friends. The Federalists and the Peace party united to a man in support of De Witt Clinton, hoping to draw off some "*disaffected* Republicans." Just at this crisis, Mr. Van Buren first took his seat as a Senator in New York, and one of the first acts he was called on to perform, was to vote for Presidential electors. Remember, sir, Mr. Van Buren had not participated in the caucus nomination of Mr. Clinton, and was not bound by the action of the caucus which nominated him, but was at liberty to follow his own prepossessions. Remember, also, that James Madison was the regularly nominated and acknowledged candidate of the Republican party. Well, sir, where do you find this stickler for party usages—this devoted Republican, as his friends term him—in this crisis of the Republican party? Why, sir, you find him giving his vote, as a Senator of New York, (the legislature then having the appointment of electors,) for Presidential electors, *favorable to Clinton*, and *opposed to Madison*. (See Holland's Life of Van Buren, page 119.) You find him supporting this nomination, and standing shoulder to shoulder with Federalists and Peace party men; with members of the Hartford Convention; with those who denounced the war as unjust and immoral, and who saddened at the news of our victories, and rejoiced over our defeats; with those who burnt blue-lights on our seaboard, as signals to British ships; and with a few, who claiming to call themselves "*disaffected* Republicans," were doing Mr. Madison and the Republican party more damage in public estimation than all the avowed Federalists in the nation. It was with this motley crew of

"Black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey;"

—this conglomeration of all the elements of opposition, disaffection, and treason,—that you find Mr. Van Buren acting a prominent part in supporting Mr. Clinton, and endeavoring to overthrow the administration of the Republican party under Mr. Madison.

It is true, sir, that after the war was evidently becoming popular, when it was seen that our Government could sustain itself, and when the peals of victory were beginning to reverberate through the land, that Mr. Van Buren suddenly grew valiant in the fight, supported measures favorable to the war, and made an able speech in its behalf, as he is very able to do, whenever he is altogether sure that there is no further need of equivocating, and that he is speaking on the popular side.

It is apparent, therefore, from this sketch of Mr. Van Buren's course in supporting

regular nominations, that he considers them *very essential* whenever they can be made to answer his own views—as to sustain his friend, Mr. Crawford, at the expense of General Jackson—but that they ought to be wholly disregarded, when they thwart his wishes, and are arrayed in sustaining such an incompetent man as James Madison, in opposition to Mr. Clinton, the distinguished candidate of the Federalists and Peace party.

#### MR. VAN BUREN ON BANKS AND CURRENCY.

It is the boast of Mr. Van Buren's admirers that he is particularly orthodox on the subject of banking and currency. And as all of this House may not be apprised of the grounds on which this admiration of Mr. Van Buren's policy is based, I will proceed to refresh the recollection of gentlemen by a recurrence to the record of the facts. Whether Mr. Van Buren was for or against the charter of the late Bank of the United States, I have not been able to ascertain with certainty. If he was then acting *pro tem.* with the Republican party, it is highly probable he was for it, as it is not a disputed fact, that two-thirds of the members of Congress who voted for the charter of that institution were Republicans, while two-thirds of the Federalists voted against it. If, however, as is now contended by his friends, he was always opposed to that institution, we must admit, that there is nothing in his past conduct or opinions to militate against his being on either or both sides of this question; and it is the more probable that he was against it, as its creation was recommended by Mr. Madison, to whose re-election we have seen Mr. Van Buren was opposed, as were likewise all the Federalists, who disliked both the U. S. Bank and James Madison.

But, if Mr. V. B. was opposed to the Bank, we find him soon forgetting all his opposition, and signing a petition to extend the arms and influences of this "British monster" among the people of New York, so that his friends and neighbors in Albany, where he then resided, might participate in its advantages or poison.

The memorial will be found at large, with all the signatures, in Niles' Register of April 19, 1834. Here are some extracts.

"The capital of the banks located here, under State corporations, is entirely insufficient to afford those facilities to commercial enterprise, which the business of the place would warrant, and which the most cautious prudence would justify. \* \* \*

"These considerations have induced the citizens of Albany *once more* to ask for the establishment of a branch, or *office of discount and deposit, of the Bank of the United States in this city.* \* \* \*

\* \* \* the nature of the trade which would be prosecuted here, would, in a great measure, render the bills of a branch established at this place, the circulating medium of the extensive regions whose produce would be brought to this market.

"Inasmuch, therefore, as the establishment of a branch here *would not only be highly advantageous to this city,* but be a source of profit to the parent institution, we hope that the directors of the United States Bank will establish an office of discount and deposit at this place.

ALBANY, July 10, 1826.

"M. VAN BUREN,  
"B. F. BUTLER,  
"J. J. HAMILTON,  
"W. L. MARCY, and others."

And, in accordance with this urgent prayer of Mr. Van Buren, the ex-Attorney General Butler, Gov. Marcy, and the other signers of the memorial and friends of the Bank, a branch was located at Albany.

Now, sir, when Mr. V. B. signed this petition, one of two things was true. He either believed the United States Bank to be a constitutional, useful and beneficial institution, or else he was petitioning for the extension of the branches and *circulation* of a bank which he believed to be an unconstitutional, corrupt and dangerous institution. His friends are at liberty to place him on either horn of the dilemma. It does, however, appear to me that no true friend of Mr. Van Buren will contend that, when he signed that petition, he believed the Bank to be either unconstitutional, or opposed to the interests of the people or the well being of the Government. On the contrary, if he was at all honest, he must have believed, that the establishment of a branch of that Bank in Albany was legal and proper, and would be advantageous to the community. To believe otherwise, is to make him out too great a knave and demagogue to be worthy the support of any respectable citizen.

Having thus shown, that in 1826, Mr. Van Buren was in favor of the late United States Bank, the attention of the House is requested to his views on the subject of

#### STATE BANKS.

Many patent Democrats, especially those who are just beginning to cultivate their first Democratic whiskers, as well as those who are blessed with conveniently forgetful memories, now insist, that all true Democrats always were opposed to State Banks. And it is now understood to be one of the fundamental articles of Democracy, (at least in those regions where it is popular,) that the private property of stockholders in banks should be made responsible for the notes of the banks. Mr. V. B. was elected Governor of New York in 1828, when the charters of most of the banks in that State were about expiring. He then had a most favorable opportunity of presenting his views on that subject, as well as of having them carried out by his political friends, who were largely in the majority in the Legislature of the State. Well, sir, did Mr. Van Buren advise the winding up of these banks? Did he advise that the property of the stockholders be made responsible for the issues of the banks? No, sir, not a word of it. On the contrary, he advises and urges the *recharter* of those same banks—insists that there was no body who was in favor of dispensing with banks, and argues that it is improper to make the property of stockholders liable for the debts of the bank. But, that gentleman may not be incredulous, I will read to them from the message of Gov. Van Buren to the Legislature of New York, delivered January 6, 1829. See page 6 of the Journal.

*"To dispense with banks altogether is an idea which seems to have NO ADVOCATE, and to make ourselves wholly dependent upon those established by federal authority, deserves none. If these are correct views the only alternative would seem to be, between the renewal of the charters of the sound part of the existing banks, or to anticipate the winding up of their concerns by the incorporation of new institutions."*

*"But we cannot close our eyes to the difficulties and pecuniary embarrassments that must result from suddenly stopping the operations of so many, and so long established institutions."*

*"The importance of some more efficient safeguard has been felt by former legislatures, and they have endeavored to obtain it through the medium of a personal responsibility of the stockholders. But it is objected, that the practical operation of such a provision would be to defeat the object in view by throwing this species of property, and of course its management, into the hands of irresponsible men. When it is considered that the dividends do not always, and seldom much, exceed the lawful interest—that the responsibility which the stockholders would necessarily have to place in others, would be disproportionate to the advantages secured, and that it is rarely, if ever, possible to reach the property of those who fail through such means, it is greatly to be feared that the experiment if tried, would be unsuccessful. The disastrous consequences necessarily flowing from such a result need not be stated."*

Here, sir, we find Mr. Van Buren is the advocate of State Banks, and urging strongly, arguments in favor of their recharter. In the same message from which the above extracts are taken, he suggests the propriety of adopting the *safety fund system*, and in accordance with his views, the Legislature rechartered all the banks, and adopted "*the safety fund system*." From this combination of the banks, the safest possible results were predicted by its friends; but from the reports made recently by the Comptroller of New York, as well as from facts now universally known, it has been ascertained, that the "*safety fund system*," like all Mr. Van Buren's financial projects, was but a splendid scheme to dazzle with its plausibility, but which could not continue to realize the benefits predicted from it.

#### "PRIVATE BANKING."

Having found Mr. Van Buren the warm friend of State and National Banks, and using his influence to extend both, there remains but one other description of banks to refer to, and that is *Private Banking*. To explain his views on this subject, I will ask your attention to the following extract taken from a note, appended by Mr. V. B. to his letter to Sherrod Williams, dated August 8, 1836. Speaking of his course when a member of the New York Legislature, he says:

*"Finding it impossible to prevent the undue increase of banks, I introduced a proposition to repeal the restraining law, AND REGULATE PRIVATE BANKING; and in co-operation with Mr. Van Vechtin, a distinguished citizen of this State, and others, succeeded in getting it through the Senate, but was lost in the House."*

Here we find Mr. Van Buren boasting that he had introduced a proposition "*to repeal the restraining law*," which prevents private individuals from issuing their own notes to be used as a currency, and also proposing to "*regulate private banking*"—which means, to authorize every individual who would comply with a few forms and ceremonies, to flood the whole country with his individual tickets, which are better known by the appropriate title of *shin plasters*. It was just such a system as was tried some years since in Kentucky, when I was a boy, when every tavern-keeper, grocer, and barber issued his individual tickets, which answered for a short time very well, as long as the holder of their paper eat his dinner, drank his liquor, or got himself shaved in the taverns and shops of these Private Bankers; but they would neither get him a dinner, quench his thirst, or get his face shaved, if he travelled thirty miles from where they were issued. Following the inevitable tendency of all such experiments, these notes soon became depreciated to such a degree, that it required a pocket full to buy a dozen apples, and a hat full to pay for a night's lodging. Such was Private Banking in Kentucky.

We have had a more recent experiment of "Private Banking" in New York and Michigan, which no doubt were predicated upon the principle proposed by Mr. Van Buren. The short period which has elapsed since this "experiment" was tried, has been sufficient to mark the creation of hundreds of private banks, the flooding of the country with their issues, and the explosion of this bantling of the *Great Magician*. Of all the systems of banking which have ever been devised in the United States, this has been the most disastrous to the community, as far as it was attempted to be put into operation. It even verged from the disastrous to the ridiculous. In Michigan, the specie capital of some of the Red Dog and Wild Cat "Private Banks," was composed of boxes of Collins' axes, which were counted, by weight, as so much silver. And when that famous Private Banking institution, after the Van Buren model, "*The Sandstone Bank*," had issued immense amounts from its quarries, it is said it gave notice, that it would redeem its five dollar bills in whetstones, its tens in grindstones, its twenties in millstones, and all its notes above that denomination in an order on the quarry. Such, sir, was the result of Mr. Van Buren's favorite plan of *Private Banking*.

#### AGAINST THE UNITED STATES BANK.

Thus far we have seen Mr. Van Buren advocating all sorts of Banks. Asking for the extension of the United States Bank, recommending the recharter of State Banks, and proposing to adopt Private Banking. We now approach the period when the United States Bank Bill was vetoed, and the various experiments were commenced on the currency of the country; and we shall find Mr. Van Buren's opinions undergoing every variety of change, and varying from the strongest expressions of regard and confidence in Banks, to the extreme of distrust and denunciation.

After Gen. Jackson vetoed the Bank Bill, Mr. Van Buren took strong ground against that institution. In October, 1832, in his letter to the Shocco Springs Committee, he says:

"I am unreservedly opposed to a renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, and approve of the refusal of the President to sign the bill passed for that purpose, as well on account of the unconstitutionality, as the impolicy of its provisions." (Holland's life of V. B. page 300.)

#### FOR THE PET BANK SYSTEM.

When this avowal was made, Gen. Jackson had taken strong ground against the U. S. Bank, and Mr. Van Buren, who was then seeking to "follow in his footsteps," was but re-echoing the opinions of the President. After the removal of the deposits, (which Mr. Van Buren of course approved, as he did of every thing Gen. Jackson did,) the Pet Bank deposit system was adopted. Mr. Van Buren being then Vice President, we have no opportunity of hearing from him until his famous letter to Sherrod Williams appeared in August, 1836. We then find him strongly eulogising the State Banks, for giving us a good currency and for regulating exchanges, and confidently predicting their success. He contended that the Deposit Banks performed a much greater amount of domestic exchanges than the United States Bank, and says:

"It further appears that these exchanges have in many cases been effected at lower rates by the Deposit Banks, than by the United States Bank."

In speaking of the currency, he says :

"It will not even now, I think, be seriously denied, that the increase of the gold coinage and the facilities of getting that species of coin, *together with the larger denomination of notes issued by the leading State Banks*, are abundantly sufficient for those purposes, and that they can be quite as conveniently employed in them."

In speaking of the safe keeping and transfer of the public money, he says :

"The official reports of the Secretary of the Treasury show, first, that the average amount of money annually transferred by the Bank of the United States from 1820 to 1823, was from ten to fifteen millions of dollars ; and the amount transferred by the Deposit Banks from June 1835 to April 1836, or about ten months, over seventeen millions of dollars. In both cases, the operation has been without loss, failure, or expense. And it further appears from the same source, *that at no previous period has the safety of the public moneys been more carefully or securely provided for. An examination of official documents will, I am well satisfied, fully sustain these positions.* What foundation, then, was there for the assumptions upon this part of the subject which were put forth with so much solemnity, and insisted on with so much earnestness, in the early discussions upon the subject of the bank ! If so much has been done in this respect, whilst the substituted agency has had to contend with the most powerful opposition that was ever made upon any branch of the public service, *what may we not expect from it now when it has received the legislative sanction ;* and if there be not gross dereliction of faith and duty, when it must also receive the support of all parties."

Here we find Mr. Van Buren contending that the State Banks answered all the requisite purposes of safekeeping and transferring the public moneys, as well as of regulating the exchanges and supplying a currency.

#### URNS AGAINST THE PET BANK SYSTEM.

Mr. Van Buren was elected to the Presidency, but scarcely had he got comfortably seated in the chair of State, before those very Deposit Banks, which he had so much bespattered with his praises, when he was seeking to render them popular with the people, exploded with a tremendous crash, fully verifying by so doing, all that had been predicted of them by the Whigs ; while at the same time they made the Government unable to meet its engagements, and covered with confusion and disgrace, those who had recommended them to the favor of the public. Mr. Van Buren finding himself unable to row the Government along with his broken oared Pet Bank system, convened an extra session of Congress on the 5th September, 1837, and recommended *the Sub-Treasury* as a panacea for the evils he and his friends had brought upon the country by his Pet Banks, and put up most lugubrious complaints against the very scheme which the year before he had so zealously lauded—hear him :

"Local banks have been employed for the deposit and distribution of the revenue, at all times partially, and on three different occasions exclusively ; first, anterior to the establishment of the first Bank of the United States ; secondly, in the interval between the termination of that institution and the charter of its successor ; and thirdly, during the limited period which has now so abruptly closed. The connexion thus repeatedly attempted, proved unsatisfactory on each successive occasion, notwithstanding the various measures which were adopted to facilitate or insure success."

"Already are the bank notes now in circulation *greatly depreciated*, and they fluctuate in value between one place and another, thus diminishing and making uncertain the worth of property and the value of labor, and failing to subserve, except at a heavy loss, the purposes of business. With each succeeding day the metallic currency decreases."

#### NEVER DOUBTED THE ABILITY OF STATE BANKS.

We have seen Mr. Van Buren opening his batteries against the State Banks, but the elections of 1837 and 1838, led him to believe that his popularity was not increased by this course. We therefore find him in his message of December, 1838, taking another tack—rather disposed to praise the State Banks again—disclaiming any hostility to them, and by all means endeavoring to make fair weather with them and their friends. He says :

"It will not, I am sure, be deemed out of place for me here to remark, that the declaration of my views in opposition to the policy of employing banks as the depositories of the Government funds, *cannot justly be construed as indicative of hostility, official or personal to those institutions*, or to repeat in this form, and in connexion with this subject, *opinions which I have uniformly entertained, and on all proper occasions expressed.* Though always opposed to their creation in the form of exclusive privileges, and as a State magistrate aiming by appropriate legislation to secure the community against the consequences of

their occasional mismanagement, *I have yet ever wished to see them protected in the exercise of rights conferred by law, AND HAVE NEVER DOUBTED THEIR UTILITY*, when properly managed, in promoting the interests of trade, and through that channel the other interests of the community."

#### DENOUNCES ALL BANKS.

During the progress of events, Mr. Van Buren was hoisted out of the presidential mansion in 1840 by an overwhelming majority of the people. Attributing, as no doubt he did, his humiliating defeat to his financial experiments, and to his indirect hostility to the State banks, he now casts off all reserve, and again, chameleon-like, comes out in another color. This time he runs up the *red flag* of extermination to all banks, as at present organized, and tries to avert against them that mighty torrent of public indignation which had so thoroughly swept him and his partisans from office, and which was fast covering them beneath the sands of popular contempt. In his letter, dated 15th February, 1843, to the Indiana committee, he indulges in no measured strains of denunciation. Listen to the awful thunders of his pen:

"I am opposed to the establishment of a National Bank in any form, or under any disguise, both on constitutional grounds, and grounds of expediency."

"The manufacture of paper money has been attempted in every form, *it has been tried by individuals, been transferred to corporations by the States, then to corporations by Congress, engaged in by the States themselves, and has signally failed in all.* It has in general, proved not the handmaid of honest industry and well regulated enterprise, but the *pampered merial of speculation, idleness, and fraud.* It has corrupted men of the highest standing, almost destroyed the confidence of mankind in each other, and darkened our criminal calendar with names that might otherwise have conferred honor and benefit on the country. There is strong ground for believing, that such a system *must have some innate incurable defect, OF WHICH NO LEGISLATION CAN DIVEST IT, and against which no human wisdom can guard, or human integrity sustain itself.*"

#### DECLARES BANKS ALWAYS WILL EXIST.

Terms of reproach against banks, whether State, national, or individual, of a stronger character than those just quoted, could scarcely be used. To an ordinary mind it would appear that the next remark which Mr. Van Buren would make, would be to declare himself opposed to banks and paper money of all sorts and descriptions. Does he do it? Has he ever done it? No, sir, he has studiously avoided expressing any such opinion. On the contrary, the very next sentence following the one last quoted, is the following:

"*The history of the past, however, leaves little room for doubt, that paper money in some form WILL, NOTWITHSTANDING, CONTINUE TO FORM A PART OF THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM OF THE COUNTRY.*"

Nor is this a casual or merely incidental remark, for he had previously expressed the same opinion. Here are extracts from his messages:

"The Constitution, however, contains no such prohibition, and *since the States have exercised for nearly half a century the power to regulate the business of banking, it is not to be expected that it will be abandoned.*"—Message, Sept. 5, 1837.

"*In a country so commercial as ours, banks in some form will probably always exist.*"—Message, 22 Dec., 1839.

#### WHAT KIND OF A CURRENCY IS MR. VAN BUREN FOR?

Now, sir, with all these views of Mr. Van Buren before us, can any one tell what kind of a currency *he is now in favor of?* He abuses all banks as at present organized, yet tells us that we always will have banks in some form. He deprecates a paper currency, but does not declare himself opposed to it altogether, or in favor of an exclusive metallic currency. Perhaps this course is pursued on account of the high regard Mr. V. B. entertains for the opinions of his friends. In some parts of the west, as in Illinois, the State banks (which a Democratic legislature created to supply the place of the United States Bank) have exploded, and left the people without any sound local banks; there it is Democratic to advocate the exclusive metallic currency. In New York, Connecticut, New Hampshire, Virginia, South Carolina, and other States where they have solvent State banks, which have been fostered and protected by Democratic legislatures, it is considered a political heresy to advocate the exclusive hard money currency. And as Mr. Van Buren truly says, "*the history of the past leaves no room for doubt that banks in some form will always exist.*" Whilst, therefore, he consulted his feelings,

and probably his spite, in denouncing the banks, he was careful to consult policy in not going so far but that he left a loop-hole to dodge out, if he should desire to take a new position.

A QUERY? Let me here pause and make an inquiry which is naturally suggested in this connexion. If Mr. Van Buren's favorite system of individual banking has been found to be a failure; if State banks will not answer the purposes of the people, if left to their own action, as experience shows to be the fact; if, as is certainly true, a United States bank, during the forty years of its existence, did answer all the purposes of the Government and people, in providing a uniform currency, regulating exchanges, and transferring the public moneys; and if we are never to be without banks of some sort—it is respectfully asked what kind of banks had we better have? Would it not be much wiser and safer to follow in the footsteps of General Washington, and the framers of the Constitution, who created the first United States Bank; and of James Madison, and the republican party of 1816, who established the last United States Bank, than to place Mr. V. B. and his followers in power again, to try some more unheard of experiments on the currency and prosperity of the people, which would again inevitably produce the same spasms, dyspepsia, and prostration in the body politic, as were produced by their quack nostrums during his administration?

#### A BUNDLE OF INCONSISTENCIES.

But, sir, let us turn back and look over the ~~characters~~ I have given from Mr. Van Buren's writings on the subject of banks and currency, and see whether such a bundle of inconsistencies was ever heaped together by any one man in the world upon a single subject. He was for extending the branches of the United States Bank, because it was a useful institution. He avows himself opposed to this same bank on grounds of constitutionality as well as of expediency. He recommends the recharter of thirty State banks—eulogises the deposit banks for their keeping safely the public moneys, and for regulating the exchanges and currency—then proclaims them unsafe depositories of public moneys, and not worthy to be trusted. He is the advocate and proposer of individual banking, yet places this system by the side of State and national banks, and denounces the whole system as the “pampered menial of speculation, idleness, and fraud.” With the next breath he proclaims that we are never to be without some system of banking and paper money; and after writing letters and messages without number, leaves us altogether in the dark on the important question, whether he is in favor of any kind of banking, or whether he goes for the exclusive hard money. Can any gentleman conceive of any system of tergiversations, inconsistencies, and contradictions to exceed this? On this subject Mr. V. B. has turned more somersets than any proficient in “the divine art” of ground and lofty tumbling. If you, Mr. Speaker, had stood still whilst he was performing his gyrations around you, you would have seen him, in turns, on your right hand and your left—before you and behind you; sometimes on his heels and sometimes on his head. And if you would now endeavor to put your finger on him, you would find him *not there*, but in the act of performing some surprising evolution, and whether he would light on your right hand or left—on his head or his heels—you could not possibly tell. In his political life, he has “boxed the compass.” And this, sir, is the man that, in the present emergency of the Government, it is sought to place at the helm of State! When we inquire what course he will steer, we are referred to the tortuous course of his past life; and whether he would steer the ship of State a straight-forward, an angular or circuitous route, no man can predict. But yet, all will agree that he would adopt the “Ericsson propeller principle,” which *screws itself forward*, or by reversing its motion, *screws itself backwards*, according as the winds and tides of popular opinion might seem to require, in order to keep himself within the channel of public favor.

#### THE SUB-TREASURY.

Shortly after Mr. V. B. came into power, the pet banks, which he had previously eulogized, failed. He had committed himself against the constitutionality of a national bank, and he therefore seems to have felt bound to recommend some untried experiment. This he found prepared to his hand in the sub-treasury project proposed by Mr. Gordon of Virginia. It is true, that when it was first offered by that gentleman, in 1834, the whole loco party in Congress, with a solitary exception, voted against it. It was

denounced in the Richmond Enquirer and the Globe in the following unmeasured terms.

"The proposition is *disorganizing* and *revolutionary*, subversive of the fundamental principles of our Government, and its entire practice from 1789 down to this day. It is as palpable as the sun that the effect of the scheme would be to bring the public treasure much nearer the actual custody and control of the President than it is now, *and expose it to be plundered by a hundred hands*, where one cannot now reach it!"

Notwithstanding his party were thus committed against this scheme, Mr. V. B., presuming he had no other alternative, in his first message to Congress, and in three succeeding ones, presses upon it the adoption of this system. If some of his arguments are not very forcible, they, at least, deserve credit for great originality as recommendations to the favor of the American people. For instance, in his message of December 24, 1839, he says:

"From the results of inquiries made by the Secretary of the Treasury, in regard to the practice among them, I am enabled to state, that in twenty-two, out of twenty-seven *foreign governments*, from which undoubted information has been obtained, the public moneys are kept in charge of public officers. This concurrence of opinion in favor of that system, is, perhaps, as great as exists on any question of internal administration."

By urging this and similar arguments upon his friends, the sub-treasury bill was finally passed in the winter of 1839-'40. Although then for the first time adopted by law, it had been in practical effect during nearly all of his administration. From the adoption of the system, his friends predicted the most salutary results to the Government and people. But if any good, either to the community or Government, did result from the adoption of this system, the history of it is to be found in the *Apocryphal* accounts of the Globe and Expositor. It is evident that the office holders under the Government would be benefitted by it, as their salaries were not curtailed, and the value of their pay was greatly enhanced by the agitation of this subject. They naturally supported it. But the most searching scrutiny has never yet been able to show the working and trading masses of the people how they were benefitted by it. The doctrine was distinctly advocated, in substance, *that there should be one currency for the Government, and another for the people*. And, in the emphatic language of a distinguished friend of Mr. V. B., it was said, that "*the Government should take care of itself, and the people of themselves*." My limits will not permit me to enlarge upon this subject. Before leaving it altogether, I will quote Mr. V. B.'s opinions on the duty of the Government to create a currency of general circulation, and provide a plan to regulate the exchanges of the country. In his message of 5th September, 1837, in writing on the subject of the currency, he says:

"All communities are apt to look to the Government for too much." \* \* \*

"If, therefore, I refrain from suggesting to Congress any specific plan for regulating the exchanges of the country, relieving mercantile embarrassments, or interfering with the ordinary operations of foreign or domestic commerce, it is from a conviction that such measures are not within the constitutional province of the General Government; and that their adoption would not promote the real and permanent welfare of those they might be designed to aid."

It will be recollected that this was said at the time that the State banks had suspended specie payment; and from this, and other expressions of Mr. Van Buren, it is manifest that he holds that it is not within the province of the Government to make a bank, or adopt any other means of regulating the exchanges, or creating a national currency to be used in the operations of foreign or domestic commerce.

#### MR. MADISON'S OPINIONS.

In contrast with these views of Mr. V. B. I will ask attention to the opinions of President Madison.

In 1815 the State banks had suspended specie payments, as in 1837, and the experiment of using them as the fiscal agents of the Government had failed, as it always has done. James Madison was then President. Did he tell Congress that they had nothing to do with these subjects? Far from it; he entertained no such opinion. And it may be well worthy of the consideration of gentlemen to inquire, who is most likely to understand the intention and meaning of the Constitution, James Madison, who did more in

creating that instrument, and in obtaining its adoption, than any other man, and who has justly been styled "the father of the Constitution," or Martin Van Buren, the sage of Lindenwald?

But let Mr. Madison speak for himself. In his message of December 5, 1815, he says :

"It is, however, essential to every modification of the finances, that the benefits of an uniform *national currency* should be restored to the community. The absence of the precious metals will, it is believed, be a temporary evil; but until they can be rendered the general medium of exchange, *it devolves on the wisdom of Congress to provide a substitute*, which shall equally engage the confidence, and accommodate the wants, of the citizens throughout the Union. If the operation of the State banks cannot produce this result, the probable operation of a national bank will merit consideration."

Mr. Madison, in his message of the 3d December, 1816, says :

"But for the interests of the community at large, as well as for the purposes of the Treasury, it is essential that the nation should possess a currency of *equal value, credit, and use* wherever it may circulate. *The Constitution has entrusted Congress, exclusively, with the power of CREATING AND REGULATING* a currency of that description; and the measures which were taken during the last session, *in execution of this power*, give every promise of success. The Bank of the United States has been organized under auspices the most favorable, *and cannot fail to be an important auxiliary to those measures.*"

### THE ELECTIVE FRANCHISE.

In 1821 a convention was called to amend the constitution of the State of New York, of which Mr. Van Buren was a member. The subject of the Elective Franchise came up for consideration, and I will give some of Mr. Van Buren's votes and speeches on this subject, taken from "the Debates of the New York Convention," which I have found in the Congressional library, and the correctness of which no one disputes. I will begin with the

*Whites, first.*—A proposition being under consideration, that every male citizen aged twenty-one, &c., who "shall have been for the year next preceding assessed, and shall have paid a tax either to the State, county, or on the highways," shall be entitled to vote, (see page 202)—

General Talmadge moved to strike out "or on the highways," which would have excluded from voting those persons who worked on the highways, but who had not paid a tax. The vote stood—ayes 68, nays 48, (see page 283.) Mr. Van Buren voted in the affirmative.

Mr. Wheeler offered this proposition, (see page 276):

"And also every other male citizen of the age of twenty-one years, who shall have been three years an inhabitant of the State, and for one year a resident of the town or city where he may offer his vote, (paupers and persons under guardianship excepted.)"

The vote on this amendment stood—ayes 63, nays 55; Mr. Van Buren voting in the negative, (see page 287.)

The above two propositions were under consideration at the same time. General Root opposed the first amendment, and advocated the last. In the course of his remarks, (page 277,)

"He (General Root) enlarged upon the remarks of the gentleman from Niagara, (Mr. Russell,) who mentioned two instances in his town where two revolutionary soldiers and patriots, one of whom fought with Montgomery under the walls of Quebec, and the other under Wayne at Stony Point, *would be disfranchised* if this provision were stricken out."

Mr. Van Buren was not satisfied with voting against Mr. Wheeler's proposition, and for General Talmadge's, but he also made a speech on the occasion in answer to General Root—all of which I will now read, (see page 277.)

"Mr. Van Buren observed, that it was evident, and indeed some gentlemen did not seem disposed to disguise it, that the amendment proposed by the honorable gentleman from Delaware, (Gen. Root,) *contemplated nothing short of universal suffrage*. Mr. Van Buren did not believe there were twenty members of that committee, who, were the naked question of universal suffrage put to them, would vote in its favor; and he was sure its adoption was not expected, and would not meet the views of their constituents."

"Mr. Van Buren then replied to a statement made yesterday by his honorable and venerable friend from Erie, (Mr. Russell,) in relation to the exclusion of soldiers who had fought at Quebec and Stony Point, under the banners of Montgomery and Wayne. And he felt the necessity of doing this because

such cases, urged by such gentlemen as his honorable friend, were calculated to make a deep and lasting impression. But, although a regard for them did honor to that gentleman, yet it was the duty of the convention to guard against the admission of those impressions which sympathy, in individual cases, may excite. It was always dangerous to legislate upon the impulses of individual cases, where the law about to be enacted is to have a general operation. With reference to the case of our soldiers, the people of this State, and country, had certainly redeemed themselves from the imputation that republics are ungrateful. With an honorable liberality, they had bestowed the military lands upon them; and to gladden the evening of their days, had provided them with pensions. Few of those patriots were now living, and, of that few, that number was yearly diminishing. *In fifteen years the grave will have covered all those who now survive.* Was it not then unwise to hazard a wholesome restrictive provision, lest in its operation it might affect these few individuals for a very short time? He would add no more. His duty would not permit him to say less."

"One word on the main question before the committee. We have already reached the verge of universal suffrage. There was but one step beyond. And are gentlemen prepared to take that step? *We were cheapening this invaluable right.* He was disposed to go as far as any man in the extension of rational liberty; but he could not consent to undervalue this precious privilege so far as to confer it, with an indiscriminating hand upon every one, black or white, who would be kind enough to condescend to accept it."

Again, on page 284, Mr. Wheeler made a speech "in favor of universal suffrage."

"Mr. Van Buren occupied the floor some time in expressing his sentiments *decidedly* against the amendment, and *against universal suffrage.* We are hazarding every thing by going to such lengths in the amendments, the people would never sanction them."

It is proper to remark, that there were three parties in the convention on the subject of the right of suffrage. One was for requiring a voter to possess a freehold qualification, another for universal suffrage, as it is now enjoyed in nearly all the States, whilst a third was opposed to both, and required that a man should pay taxes, or be a householder, to be entitled to a vote. Mr. Van Buren belonged to this last class. He explained his views and principles again in a speech to be found on pages 367 and 368, in which it will be seen he changed some of his ground, as usual. Here are some extracts:

"Mr. Van Buren said, that as the vote he should now give on what was called the highway qualification would be different from what it had been on a former occasion, he felt it a duty to make a brief explanation of the motives which governed him. The qualifications reported by the first committee, were of three kinds, viz: The payment of a money tax—the performance of military duty, and working on the highway. The two former had met with his decided approbation; to the latter he wished to add the additional qualification, *that the elector should, if he paid no tax, performed no militia duty, but offered his vote on the sole ground that he had labored on the highway, also be a householder.* And that was the only point in which he dissented from the report of the committee. To effect this object, he supported a motion made by the gentleman from Dutchess, to strike out the highway qualification, *with a view of adding "HOUSEHOLDER."*

"At this moment, he would only say, that among the many evils which would flow from an unrestricted suffrage, the following would be the most injurious, viz:

"First, it would give to the city of New York, about twenty-five thousand votes, whilst under the liberal extension of the right or the choice of delegates to this convention, she had but about thirteen or fourteen thousand. *That THE CHARACTER of the increased number of voters would be such as would render their elections RATHER A CURSE THAN A BLESSING, WHICH WOULD DRIVE FROM THE POLLS ALL SOBER MINDED PEOPLE;* and such HE WAS HAPPY TO FIND, was the united opinion, or nearly so, of the delegation from that city."

Mr. Van Buren, it will be seen, was not only opposed to universal suffrage, which would have added 12,000 voters in the city of New York, but this "exemplar of Democratic principles" says, that the *CHARACTER of these poor voters was such—so abominable, so disgusting, forsooth—as would render their elections rather a curse than a blessing, and would drive from the polls all sober-minded people.* A beautiful and exalted opinion, indeed, has he of that great mass of our population which abounds every where, and which he estimates in the cities at nearly half its adults! The *character* of this population he considers such, that the fear of contact with them at the elections would drive this "exemplification of Democracy" from the polls, and all other *sober-minded* people, who, like himself, consider themselves degraded by coming into contact with the vulgar poor. So very degrading does he appear to deem it, that even a rich negro would not lower himself by associating with this vulgar herd at an election.

It is apparent that Mr. V. B. did not consider any man qualified to vote, unless he had some property on which to pay a tax, or was strong enough to muster and to work on the highway; and that he thought a man should have property sufficient to be a house-

holder, also, if he offered to vote because he worked on the roads. Physical strength, and the possession of property or money to pay taxes, were evidently his criterion of qualifications. And the idea which we in the West consider as the true tests of qualification, is scouted throughout all his speeches: that services rendered in defence of the country, intellect, and virtue, with the fact that a man may at any time be called upon and forced to defend the country, work on the roads, and act as jurors, justly entitle every white freeman to vote.

Having examined Mr. Van Buren's views on the right of white citizens to vote, we now turn our attention to the

*Negroes, last.*—The committee proposed to confine the right of voting "to every white male citizen," &c. (see page 134.) Mr. Jay moved to strike out the word "*white*," which would permit negroes to vote. The question was decided *in favor of the negroes*: ayes 63, nays 59; Mr. Van Buren voting in the affirmative, and in favor of the negroes having a vote. (See page 202.)

Subsequently Mr. Briggs moved to insert the word "*white*" as a qualification. (See page 364.)

"Mr. Van Buren was in favor of the plan proposed by the select committee, and *opposed to the amendment.*"

To show that this question was fully presented before the convention, an extract or two is given.

COLONEL YOUNG said:

"No white man will stand shoulder to shoulder with a negro in the train band or jury room. He will not invite him to a seat at his table, nor in his pew in the church. And yet he must be placed on a footing of equality in the right of voting, and on no other occasion whatever, either civil or social." (Page 191.)

Mr. BRIGGS, in reply to Mr. Jay, said:

"That gentleman had remarked, we must all ultimately lie down in the same bed together. But he would ask that honorable gentleman, whether he would consent to lie down, in life, in the same feather bed with a negro? But it was said the right of suffrage would elevate them. He would ask whether it would elevate a monkey or baboon, to allow them to vote." (See page 365.)

Notwithstanding these appeals, Mr. Van Buren, being "*a northern man with southern principles*," stuck to the negroes. The only difference between Mr. Van Buren and his southern friends being, that they are for keeping negroes slaves, whilst he was for making them voters. This is but a slight Democratic difference of opinion, easily settled by the Baltimore convention.

In fixing the qualifications of voters, it was proposed that all blacks should vote who possessed a freehold estate of \$250, and they were exempted from taxation to that extent. This provision was supported by Mr. Van Buren in a speech to be found on page 376.

"Mr. Van Buren said he had voted against a total and unqualified exclusion, for he would not draw a revenue from them, (the negroes,) and yet deny to them the right of suffrage. *This provision met his approbation.* They were exempted from taxation *until they had qualified themselves to vote.* The right has not denied to exclude any portion of the community, who will not exercise the right of suffrage in its purity. This held out inducements to industry and would receive his support." (See also Holland's life of Van Buren, 183.)

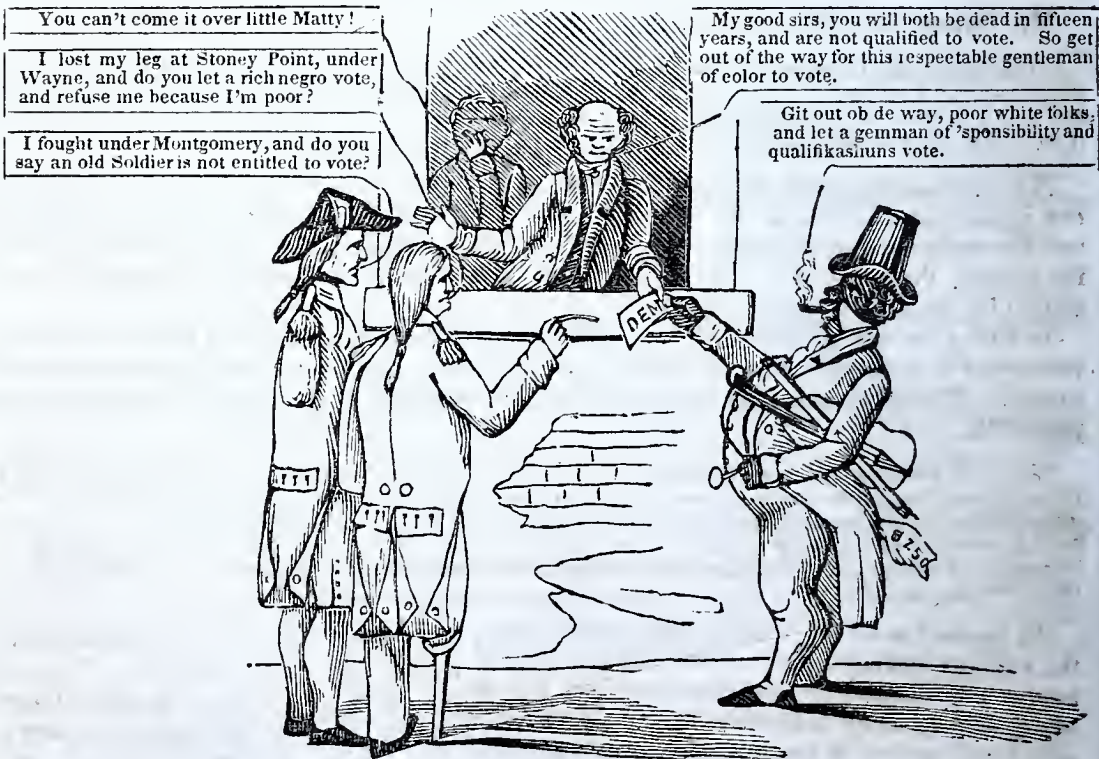
*Its operation.*—We have examined the views and principles of Mr. Van Buren on the right of suffrage, and let us now see how it would operate in practice. We will suppose an old soldier who had served under Wayne at Stony Point, or been wounded under Montgomery at Quebec, who was unable to work on the highways, too poor to pay a tax, too old to muster, and, residing with his children, he would not be a householder;—suppose that such a man should apply to vote at a poll where Mr. Van Buren should be a judge of the election. He would urge that he had fought the battles and suffered in defence of his country; he could say that he had once owned slaves, but the wants of old age had caused him to expend it, and he was now too old to work, but he knew he ought to have a right to vote. Mr. Van Buren would reply, with that suavity of manner for which he is so distinguished: "My good sir, *In fifteen years the grave*

will have covered (you and) all those (patriots of the Revolution) who now survive.' 'It is unwise to hazard a wholesome restrictive provision, lest in its operation it might affect (you and) these few individuals for a very short time.'—(See page 277.) So please get out of the way, my good old soldier, for this respectable gentleman of color, with the gold guard-chain, satin stock, and handsome dancing pumps. He is a man of substance, and a good Democrat; and although he has made his money by playing the fiddle, yet I know he possesses a freehold estate worth \$250, which abundantly qualifies him to vote." The old soldier would have to hobble out of the way, whilst the *Democratic gentleman of color* gave in his vote.

Such would be the operation of Mr. Van Buren's *Democratic* opinions of the qualifications of voters. And as the gentleman from Ohio (Dr. DUNCAN) seems to have a great penchant for pictures, I would advise him to have a sketch of this scene executed, to accompany the next edition of his speech, as this "exemplification of Democracy" will doubtless add greatly to the popularity of the "exemplar of his principles," and will exhibit to the eye how successfully Mr. Van Buren has "*reflected added lustre upon Democracy.*" And lest the honorable gentleman should omit it, I will have one executed to accompany his pretended coon on its travels through the country.

## DEMOCRATIC HEAD-QUARTERS.

"EQUAL RIGHTS."



*Election of Justices of the Peace by the People.*—In many of the States it is held to be anti-Democratic to be opposed to the election of justices of the peace by the people. This question was brought before the New York convention. Mr. Van Buren made a speech against this proposition, and said:

"It was not to be disguised that that part of the report before the committee, relating to the appointment of justices of the peace, was by far the most important feature in the report—if that was settled, the remaining part would be got along with very easily. Some had thought that these magistrates ought to be elected, *but he had at all times been opposed to their election.*"

"He did not believe it would be benefitting the people to extinguish one great fire, and enkindle fifty-two smaller ones. *The farther this power could be removed from the people the better.* He could not, therefore, consent to the proposition of the gentleman from Oneida, (Mr. Platt.)" (Pages 321 and 322, Debates New York Convention.)

### THE MISSOURI QUESTION.

It is well remembered that the question of the admission of Missouri into the Union, as a slave State, shook this whole nation to its centre. Rufus King, a distinguished Federal Senator from New York, took a most decided stand against its admission. During the agitation of this question, Mr. Van Buren took a most active part in favor of the re-election of Mr. King, and he was accordingly elected. In January, 1820, the Legislature of New York passed a resolution instructing their Senators, and requesting their Representatives in Congress,

"To oppose the admission, as a State in the Union, of any territory not comprised within the original boundary of the United States, *without making the prohibition of slavery therein an indispensable condition of admission.*"

This resolution passed the Senate (of which Mr. V. B. was a member) *unanimously*. Mr. Holland, in his Life of Mr. Van Buren, page 144, says:

"The Senate concurred in this resolution without division or debate, *and among them Mr. Van Buren*; though it was not brought before the Legislature by his agency. *Still he must be regarded as having concurred, at that time, in the sentiment of the resolution thus adopted by the Legislature.*"

### *Abolition of Slavery in the District of Columbia.*

In his letter to Junius Amis and others, dated 6th March, 1836, in writing upon this subject, Mr. Van Buren says:

"I owe it, however, to candor to say to you, that I have not been able to satisfy myself that the grant to Congress in the Constitution, of the power of '*exclusive legislation in all cases whatever*' over the Federal district, does not confer on that body the same authority over the subject that would otherwise have been possessed by the States of Maryland and Virginia, or that Congress might not, in virtue thereof, take such steps upon the subject in this District as those States might themselves take within their own limits, and consistently with their rights of sovereignty.

"Thus viewing the matter, I would not, *from the lights now before me, FEEL MYSELF SAFE* in pronouncing that Congress does not possess the power of interfering with or abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia."

"I do not hesitate to give it to you as my deliberate and well considered opinion, that there are objections to the exercise of this power against the wishes of the slave-holding States, as *imperative in their nature and obligations*, in regulating the conduct of public men, as *the most palpable want of constitutional power would be.*"—Holland's Life of V. B., 350.

Although this opinion of Mr. Van Buren has been well known for years, yet I am not aware that any man knows what are his opinions upon the right and duty of Congress to receive and consider petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the Territories. His zealous friends from the North are the advocates of their reception and consideration, whilst his warm friends at the South are as violent against their reception. Perhaps the difficulty is easily reconciled from the fact that he is said to be "a Northern man with Southern principles," to which might well be added, "*and of colored opinions.*"

Mr. Van Buren's position on this subject was well illustrated by a Tennessee stump-speaker, who tells this story: A farmer had missed a number of his hogs, and suspected an idle fellow, who was magician enough to keep a plenty of meat, without working any. So he watched one day, and followed him into the woods, and saw him raise his gun, and shoot down one of the farmer's finest hogs. As the rogue ran up, and was

just stooping down to cut the hog's throat, the farmer stepped up to him and laid his hand on him, remarking, "Well, my good fellow, I have caught you killing my hogs this time." "Yes," said the rogue, jumping up with a look of terror, "and I will kill every one of your fighting hogs, if they come a boo-hooing at me!" Mr. V. B. acts with just the same tact. Whilst he was leaning forward, whispering to the North that, from *the lights now before me*, I believe Congress has a right to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, the South stepped up and touched his shoulder, and inquired, "What is that you say?" "Oh!" said Mr. Van Buren, turning around with the politest bow imaginable, "I'll veto it—I assure you, I will veto any Abolition bill they may bring to bamboozle me!"

#### INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS.

Attention is now requested to Mr. Van Buren's *theory* on the subject of Internal Improvements, and afterwards we will turn our attention to some of his *practices*.

On the 19th December, 1825, Mr. Van Buren offered the following resolution in the Senate:

"Resolved, That Congress does not possess the power to make roads and canals within the respective States."

At the same time he offered an amendment to the Constitution, prescribing and defining the power Congress shall have over the subject of Internal Improvements.

On the 21st April, 1826, Mr. Van Buren, in making a speech against an appropriation to the Louisville Canal, said:

"The aid of this Government can only be afforded to these objects of improvements in three ways: by making a road or canal, and assuming jurisdiction; by making a road or canal without assuming jurisdiction, leaving it to the States; or by making an appropriation, without doing either. In his opinion, *the General Government had no right to do either*; and at some future time he should offer his reasons in support of this opinion."—*Holland's Life of V. B.*, 263.

In making a speech against the Dismal Swamp Canal, on the 15th May, 1825, Mr. Van Buren said:

"He would not vote for the bill, for he did not believe that this Government possessed the constitutional power to make these canals, or to grant money to make them."

"As to the question (of constitutionality) being settled, he should protest against the admission of such a doctrine; and he should resist, to all intents and purposes, the idea *that the acts of this Congress were to bind him and his constituents hereafter*."—*Holland's Life of V. B.*, 264.

Mr. Holland, in his life of his friend, Mr. Van Buren, page 268, after giving the above extracts, and also Mr. V. B.'s Letter to the Shocco Springs Committee, closes the chapter with these remarks:

"These extracts, it will be noticed, go further than the veto message on the Maysville road, and assumes the ground afterwards adopted by the President, *that, even for purposes which might be deemed of a national character, no appropriation ought to be made without a previous amendment of the Constitution*."

We have thus seen that Mr. Van Buren, in his theory, is a strict constructionist, and assumes to belong to the "straight-jacket school." Yet, true to his chameleon character, he cannot act this out even in the Senate. On the 3d May, 1822, on the passage of a bill to authorize the Government to put up toll-gates on the National Road, without the assent of the States through which it passed, he voted for it. This has always been considered one of the boldest assumptions of power by Congress, and it was considered so *ultra* by President Monroe, that he *vetoed it*.

The work of Mr. Holland, from which I have quoted the *constitutional objections* of Mr. Van Buren to all Internal Improvements, was published by his particular personal and political friend, for the purpose of aiding his election, by giving a history of his life, and its truth and accuracy were endorsed by the *Globe*, *Albany Argus*, *Baltimore Republican*, *Pennsylvanian*, and other leading locofoco papers.

When Mr. Van Buren came into power, there was a majority of his friends in both branches of Congress, and of course we might expect to see this system of Internal Improvements put down. But this was far from taking place immediately. The sys-

tem had too strong hold on public confidence to be attacked boldly and manfully. Accordingly, we find the first Congress under Mr. Van Buren, in 1838, making the large appropriation of \$2,099,618, for works of Internal Improvement, all which were sanctioned by Mr. Van Buren. (See Doc. 31, 1st Sess. 27 Congress.) Here is a list of some of the appropriations, and it is not a little curious to see how they compare with others which he and his friends had so bitterly opposed on grounds of both unconstitutionality and inexpediency. (See Laws U. S., 1838.)

" For the continuation of the Cumberland road in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois	-	-	\$450,000
" For the improvement of the navigation of the Hudson river, <i>above</i> and <i>below</i> Albany	-	-	100,000-
" For the Cumberland river	-	-	20,000
" For the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri rivers	-	-	140,000
" For the improvement of Arkansas river, (Arkansas then being a State)	-	-	40,000
" For improving the natural channels at the northern and southern entrances of the <i>Dis-mal Swamp Canal</i>	-	-	10,000"

It is beyond the ingenuity of man to reconcile Mr. Van Buren's *approval* of these appropriations, with his previous constitutional objections. There is one way of accounting for it satisfactorily, and those who have studied Mr. Van Buren's political history will be at no loss to appreciate the suggestion, that his constitutional scruples were never known to interfere with his action, *when policy forbade it*. The truth is, there is no reason to believe that Mr. Van Buren ever was friendly to any of these improvements, upon which his partisans were then bestowing so much money. But he was already looking forward to a re-election, and to *veto* these appropriations would have injured his political prospects in the West. He therefore quieted his constitutional qualmishness, by considering that "the end to be effected justified the means." As an evidence that Mr. V. B. was actuated by no friendly feelings for these works, we find that subsequently, during his administration, all further appropriations for these purposes were stopped; and what gave evidence of a hostility to the whole system, and an intention to abandon it altogether, were the orders which were issued by the Departments, under which the dredging machines in the harbors and rivers, and the carts, spades, and other implements of the Government, on the Cumberland Road, were sold by the officers of the Government for a mere trifle. Such is a specimen of Mr. Van Buren's love for the West. And such has been his course upon the subject of Internal Improvement, that, were he again elected, no man can tell whether *his constitutional scruples*, or *POLICY* would have the ascendancy in his action. Would it not be well for his friends, who call him "a Northern man with Southern principles," to add the additional soubriquet, that "*he is a strict constructionist with latitudinarian practices.*"

#### PUBLIC LANDS.

In his letter to Sherrod Williams, Mr. Van Buren repeats what he had written to some of his friends in New York, a year before:

"In respect to the Public Lands I need only observe, that I regard the public domain as a *trust fund belonging to all the States*, to be disposed of for their common benefit. Ample authority is for that purpose conferred on Congress, by an express provision of the Constitution."

After thus admitting, in the broadest terms, that the Public Lands are a trust fund held by Congress, as a trustee, to be disposed of for the benefit of all the States, it would be considered surprising and inconsistent in any body else, to hear him expressing the following opinions in the same letter:

"The disposition of the public lands proposed by the bill to which General Jackson refused his assent, (the land bill to distribute the proceeds amongst the States,) was, in my opinion, highly objectionable."

"I am of opinion that the avails of the public lands will be more faithfully and equitably applied 'to the common benefit of the United States,' by their *continued application to the general wants of the Treasury*, than by any other mode that has yet been suggested; and that such an appropriation is, in every respect, preferable to the distribution thereof among the States, in the manner your question proposes. Entertaining these views, I cannot give you any encouragement that I will, in the event of my election to the Presidency, favor that policy."

This hostility to the distribution of the proceeds of the Public Lands, is reiterated by

Mr. Van Buren, in his letter of February, 1843, to the Indiana Committee. And his views evince the gross injustice, not to say the absurdity, of permitting a trustee, after the payment of the trust debt, (the Revolutionary debt,) for the liquidation of which the fund had been placed in the trustee's hands, to use the trust funds for his own peculiar benefit, instead of distributing it amongst those to whom it is admitted it rightfully belongs.

### *Pre-emption Laws.*

This is a subject of some interest to us in the West. Mr. Van Buren, in speaking upon this subject, in his message of December 5th, 1837, says :

"If the public lands are to be considered as open to be occupied by any, they should, by law, be thrown open to all. That which is intended, in all instances, to be legalized, should at once be made legal, that those who are disposed to conform to the laws may enjoy at least equal privileges with those who are not. But it is not believed to be the disposition of Congress to open the public lands to occupancy, without regular entries and payment of the Government price ; as such a course must tend to worse evils than the credit system, which it was found necessary to abolish. It would seem, therefore, to be the part of wisdom and sound policy to remove, as far as practicable, the causes which produce intrusions upon the public lands, *and then take efficient steps to prevent them in future.*" \* \* \* \*

"Entertaining these views, I recommend the passage of a pre-emption law for their benefit, in connexion with the preparatory steps toward the graduation of the price of the public lands, *and further and more effectual provisions to prevent intrusions hereafter.*"

Now, if this language has any meaning, it is that as the settlers on the public lands, at that time, had reason to believe they would be permitted to have pre-emptions—that Congress should pass a law for their benefit ; but as the entry upon the public lands was illegal, and could not be intended to be countenanced by Congress, further provision should be made to prevent settlers from "*intrusions*" thereafter. This recommendation was not intended for the general benefit of settlers, who might settle on the public lands thereafter, but it was intended to keep them off the public lands, whilst a single law was to be passed for those then residing on them.

It is nothing more than justice to the last Whig Congress to say, that the first prospective pre-emption law (as it is believed) which ever was enacted, was passed by that body ; which, whilst it regards the interests of the Government, at the same time protects and does justice to the hardy pioneer of the West.

### *Mr. Van Buren's friendship for the West.*

It is claimed for Mr. Van Buren that he is peculiarly friendly to the people of the West. If it had not been said so, every man would conclude, from his letters and writings, that he is filled with most bitter hostility to the West. Here are some of his votes, while Mr. Van Buren was a Senator, taken from the journals of the Senate :

"APRIL 22, 1828. On the third reading of the bill 'to graduate the price of the public lands, to make donations thereof to actual settlers, and to cede the refuse thereof to the States in which they lie,' the vote stood—ayes 21, nays 25—*Mr. Van Buren voting in the negative.*

"MAY 24, 1828. On the third reading of a bill, entitled 'An act to aid the State of Ohio in extending the Miami canal from Dayton to Lake Erie'—ayes 25, nays 13—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"MAY 10, 1826. On the third reading of a bill 'to grant a certain quantity of land to the State of Illinois, for the purpose of aiding in opening a canal to connect the waters of the Illinois river with those of Lake Michigan'—ayes 17, nays 17. Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative, and the bill was rejected by the casting vote of the Vice President John C. Calhoun.

"MAY 19, 1824. On the third reading of 'An act to improve the navigation of the Ohio and Mississippi rivers'—ayes 25, nays 20—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"MARCH 20, 1826. On motion of Mr. Cobb to strike out the appropriation of \$50,000, 'for defraying the expenses incidental to making examinations, surveys, &c., preparatory, and in aid of the formation of roads and canals'—ayes 13, nays 19—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the affirmative.*

"APRIL 22, 1826. On the passage of the 'bill to authorize a subscription for stock, on the part of the United States, in the Louisville and Portland Canal Company'—ayes 20, nays 15—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"MAY 15, 1826. Mr. Van Buren made a speech against the bill to authorize the United States to subscribe stock in the Dismal Swamp Canal Company.—*Holland's Life of Van Buren*, 263.

"MAY 12, 1826. On the postponement, beyond the session, of a bill 'to establish collection districts in the States of Kentucky, Ohio, Illinois, and Missouri,' (which bill would have had the effect of making ports of entry high up on navigable streams,)—ayes 21, nays 12—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"JULY 30, 1827. On the third reading of 'a bill to authorize the President of the United States to cause a road to be opened from Fort Smith, in Arkansas, (then a Territory,) to Natchitoches, in Louisiana'—yeas 17, nays 20—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"MARCH 1, 1827. On laying on the table the bill 'to authorize the laying out and opening of certain roads in the Territory of Michigan'—yeas 23, nays 14—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the affirmative.*

"JULY 17, 1827. On the third reading of a bill 'to authorize a subscription of stock, on the part of the United States, in the Columbus and Sandusky Turnpike Company'—yeas 27, nays 18—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the negative.*

"MARCH 1, 1825. At the close of the session, on the motion to lay on the table (which was the test vote) the bill 'TO AUTHORIZE THE OCCUPATION OF THE OREGON TERRITORY'—yeas 25, nays 14—*Mr. Van Buren voted in the affirmative.* This bill was the same, in substance, as the bill now before Congress, and directed the taking possession of the territory of Oregon, and building forts therein.

"FEBRUARY 21, 1824, and March 20, 1826; also on 23d January, 1828; also on 22d April, 1828, *Mr. Van Buren* voted against bills 'for the continuation of the Cumberland road.'

"MAY 18, 1826, and March 1, 1827, *Mr. Van Buren* voted against bills making appropriations 'for the preservation of the Cumberland road.'

"MARCH 1, 1827. Being at the close of the session, *Mr. Van Buren* voted to lay on the table a resolution submitted by *Mr. Benton*, directing the survey and examination of the route of the National road to the seat of Government of Missouri."

In these, and it might be added, in almost every other vote affecting Western interests peculiarly, whilst *Mr. Van Buren* was in the Senate, it will be found that he voted against the West. With truth and earnestness may the people of the West exclaim: "*Save me from such a friend!*"

#### EXPENDITURES DURING MR. VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION.

The administration of the finances of the Government has always properly been a subject of deep interest to the American people. As it is proposed to run *Mr. V. B.* again, we will turn our attention to his financial management. To avoid any question as to the correctness of the statements which will be presented, all the facts and figures below are taken from the official statements of officers of the Treasury Department. To enable every one to understand *the beauty of the financiering* of *Mr. V. B.*'s administration, I will ask attention to the following statement, made out by *T. L. Smith*, Register of the Treasury, dated May 25, 1841, and appended to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, made to the 1st session 27th Congress:

"Receipts and expenditures of the Government, exclusive of trust funds, and funds arising from loans and Treasury notes, from 1st January, 1816, to 31st December, 1836, inclusive."

After giving all the figures, it concludes thus:

"Average annual receipts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$26,734,273
"Average annual expenditures for current expenses, as above	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15,270,046
								<hr/>
"Excess of average annual receipts over expenditures for current expenses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	\$11,464,226

"T. L. SMITH, Register."

It will thus be seen, that during the period of twenty years, embracing the administrations of Monroe, Adams, and Jackson, there was an annual surplus of \$11,464,046. This was expended in paying the public debt, as long as any existed, and after it was extinguished formed the *surplus revenue* which was deposited with the States.

General Jackson, in his farewell address, said: "*I leave this great people prosperous and happy.*"

*Mr. Van Buren* came into office, promising to "follow in his footsteps." The balance in the Treasury on the 1st of January, 1837, (see report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 3d June, 1841,) was \$17,109,573. *Mr. V. B.* had this amount in the Treasury to begin on.

There were other funds, also, not arising from the ordinary sources of revenue, which *Mr. Van Buren* appropriated to the payment of the debts of his most extravagant administration. Here is a statement (marked D) appended to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, from which it will be seen, that the balance in the Treasury, the amount

nt in the United States Bank, and the amount due from other banks, were all eaten up by this spendthrift administration.

"Outstanding, and falling due to the Treasury, arising from other sources than that of ordinary revenue, which were paid between the 1st of January, 1837, and the 4th of March, 1841 :

" Bonds of the Bank of the United States	-	-	-	-	-	\$8,211,630
" Interest on public deposits	-	-	-	-	-	532,967
" Debts due from banks	-	-	-	-	-	380,148
" Total	-	-	-	-	-	<u>\$9,124,747"</u>

Nor was this all. A report was made by the Register of the Treasury, dated December 28, 1841, which contains a "statement of the public debt on the 3d of March, 1841," which is there stated to be \$8,379,059 88. This official statement does not include the large appropriations which were then outstanding, to meet which there were no funds in the Treasury. Nor does it include the large amount of liabilities of the Government, for which no appropriations had been made, and which had to be provided for by subsequent legislation. It is not my purpose to go into a calculation to show what this sum was, as it would take up more time and room than I have at command. It could easily be shown that many millions more would have to be added to the public debt. The amount admitted, however, is sufficient to prove the extravagance and improvidence of that administration.

We will now examine the expenditures and appropriations during Mr. V. B.'s reign, whose *frugality* and *financial management* "reflected added lustre upon Democracy." The following tables are taken from a statement made by T. L. Smith, Register of the Treasury, on the 26th February, 1844, giving the whole amount of receipts and expenditures from 1789 to 1842, and will be found on pages 253 and 255 of the printed report which has been submitted to the present Congress :

"EXPENDITURES."					"APPROPRIATIONS."				
1837	-	-	-	\$37,265,037	1837	-	-	-	\$39,756,698
1838	-	-	-	39,455,428	1838	-	-	-	40,905,431
1839	-	-	-	37,614,936	1839	-	-	-	30,078,051
1840	-	-	-	28,226,533	1840	-	-	-	26,449,926

Here is another table, the counterpart of the first one presented, prepared by the Register of the Treasury, and to be found appended to the report of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1st session 27th Congress, headed as follows :

"Receipts and expenditures of the Government, *exclusive of trust funds, and funds arising from loans and Treasury notes*, and from other sources of income, from 1st of January, 1837, to 31st December, 1840."

After stating the different items, it concludes—

" Average annual expenditures for current expenses, as above	-	-	-	-	\$28,098,965
" Average annual receipts	-	-	-	-	21,125,998
" Excess of average annual expenditures over receipts	-	-	-	-	<u>\$6,972,967</u>

"T. L. SMITH, Register.

"TREASURY DEPARTMENT, Register's Office, May 25, 1841."

This last statement is also substantially corroborated by the report of the Secretary of the Treasury made to this Congress at its present session.

It is thus proven by documents which do not admit of question, that Mr. Van Buren expended nearly TWENTY-EIGHT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS during his four years of *spendthrift economy*, over and above the ordinary revenue of the Government. And if it had not have been for the fourth instalment of the *surplus revenue*, the *United States Bank stock*, and other little "*pickings and stealings*" gathered up from all imaginable quarters, he would have left a debt of that amount to be added *to the debt and deficit* of EIGHT MILLIONS OF DOLLARS *which he did leave*, which shows an acknowledged excess of expenditure, debt, and deficit, above the ordinary revenue during that administration, amounting to more than THIRTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

The facts and figures show that Mr. Van Buren spent nearly *thirteen millions* of dollars annually more than the average annual expenditure of the *twenty preceding years*. And if the debt and deficit he left had been paid, or is added in, it will be seen that his annual expenditure **MORE THAN DOUBLED** that of the administrations of Monroe, Adams and Jackson. One of two things is certain; either the revenue was not sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of Government, in which case it was the duty of the administration to provide means to increase the revenue, which they did not do; or the immense amounts of money which were received *were extravagantly spent, or stolen*. Take which horn of the dilemma they may, that administration cannot escape deserved censure.

It is wonderful, indeed, if the people of the United States are not captivated with such specimens of administrative economy!! And it will be still more wonderful and *astounding*, if the people, now that they have ascertained the amounts expended, shall not call again to preside over the Government that man whose short administration caused such astounding results!!!

#### THE TARIFF.

**SALT.**—February 2d, 1827, a bill to repeal the duty on imported salt being under consideration, Mr. Van Buren made a speech against it. (See 3 Register Debates, 245.) On the 5th of February, 1827, the bill passed the Senate—ayes 24, nays 21; *Mr. Van Buren and R. M. Johnson voting in the negative*.

April 7th, 1828, General Harrison moved to take up the bill to reduce the duty on imported salt. The bill being taken up, Mr. Van Buren moved its indefinite postponement. (4 Register Debates, 591.) On considering this bill on the 18th of April, 1828—ayes 21, nays 25—Mr. Van Buren in the negative.

It will thus be seen that Mr. Van Buren, on all occasions, voted against a repeal or reduction of the duty on salt. Salt being produced in New York, he was careful to have it *protected*; and although “a northern man with southern principles,” he has always been particularly careful to *salt down* his southern and western friends, for the benefit of his northern constituents, whenever an opportunity occurred.

*The tariff of 1824 was avowedly a protective tariff.* It passed the Senate May 13th, 1824. *Mr. Van Buren voted for it*, as did also R. M. Johnson, Andrew Jackson, and Thomas H. Benton.

*The tariff of 1828 was the highest tariff we ever had in the United States, and its avowed object was more effectually to protect American manufactures and industry.* So bitterly has it been denounced by anti-tariff men, that it has been styled by them “the bill of abominations.” It passed the Senate May 13th, 1828. *Mr. Van Buren voted for it*, as did also Mahlon Dickerson, Louis McLane, R. M. Johnson, J. H. Eaton, and Thomas H. Benton. (See Journal of the Senate, 1st session 20th Congress, 410.)

It has been declared repeatedly by Mr. Van Buren’s anti-tariff friends, that he was in feeling opposed to this tariff, and that the only reason why he voted for it was in obedience to instructions. Mr. Van Buren himself has never said so; but there is every reason to believe that Mr. Van Buren was voting his own sentiments, as well as complying with the wishes of his constituents. Here is the proof of it. The advocates of a protective tariff got up “the Harrisburg convention,” the object of which was to devise means to obtain more efficient protection for all branches of American industry. The result of this movement was the passage of the tariff bill of 1828. A meeting was held in Albany on the 10th day of July, 1827, to send delegates to this convention. Mr. Van Buren, attended and addressed the meeting. One account says:

“Mr. Van Buren said, that having now stated, as fully as the time would admit, his general views upon the subject, his opinion of the *settled policy* of the State as to the propriety and expediency of affording *legislative protection* to the manufacturing interests of the country, by temperate and wise, and therefore salutary laws, and his *readiness to aid in the passage of all such laws*, he would trespass for a few moments, &c. \* \* \* \* \* “He owed many thanks to the meeting for the very kind attention with which he had been listened to by gentlemen, between many of whom and himself there had, upon public matters, been differences of opinion of long standing. His situation in reference to the *wool growing interest*, was well known to most of them. *He had at present invested more than \$20,000 in SHEEP, and farms, devoted, and which he meant to devote to that business. He felt all proper concern*

FOR HIS OWN INTEREST, and would, of course, cheerfully unite in all suitable measures for its advantage."

Another account says :

"The Hon. Martin Van Buren (says the Argus,) rose and addressed the meeting in a speech of about an hour. In the course of his remarks, Mr. Van Buren alluded to and fully explained his course in relation to the woollens bill; the character and effect of that bill, as well as of various measures adopted and discussed from time to time for the protection of our home industry; the magnitude and vital importance of that subject in reference to every section of the Union, and every part and every citizen of the State; the obvious necessity of extending to the wool grower and manufacturer, and to every branch of domestic production and industry that may require it, AMPLE AND LIBERAL ENCOURAGEMENT, &c." (See Niles Register, July 21st, 1827.)

The following are some of the resolutions passed at the Albany meeting :

"Resolved, That the laws of Congress from the first assumed the principle that revenue is to be so levied as shall most encourage, or least impede, the various branches of commerce and of internal industry; that this principle may be and ought to be carried to a more full and extended application, and that to enact laws in disregard of it, would be an undue exercise of power."

"Resolved, That the laws of the United States which have tended to protect our interests of navigation, manufactures, farming, and planting, against the exclusions, monopolies, restrictions, and bounties of other nations, have been one main source of whatever prosperity this country has enjoyed; and that in every instance where the protection has been efficient and complete, the result has been BENEFICIAL, not to a part only, but to the whole community." (Niles' Register, July 21, 1827.)

The speech of Mr. Van Buren, and the resolutions, assume as broad ground as was ever occupied by the most zealous friends of a high protective tariff. No one acquainted with Mr. Van Buren will doubt that "he felt all proper regard FOR HIS OWN INTEREST;" and it is not credible, therefore, that when he was so warm a protective tariff advocate in July, 1827, he should be opposed to it in May, 1828, when the whole North and West were nearly unanimous for it. If Mr. Van Buren did not speak, but gave a *silent vote* for that tariff, it was perhaps owing to the fact that he then had "more than twenty thousand dollars invested in farms and sheep;" and when the question was up before the Senate, it is not surprising that he was a silent voter.

Mr. Van Buren is said to be very wealthy, and history gives no account of his having sold his farms and sheep; and busy curiosity, which is always prying into the affairs of "fallen greatness," says that since "his retiracy" to private life, when he was not engaged in political manœuvres, he has not only devoted his farms, but himself also, to the cultivation of sheep and cabbage."

We will now invite attention to the more recent opinions of Mr. Van Buren on the tariff: and here, if we are not able to explain his present views satisfactorily, we must be permitted to say the fault is his, not ours. In his letter of 15th February, 1843, to the Indiana committee, Mr. V. B. writes page after page and column after column, and yet what he is for or what against, in that letter, is a mystery. The tariff men give it one construction—the anti-tariff men another. Some of his friends understand him to be in favor of direct taxation—others, that he is utterly opposed to it. It seems to have been his object to make it "all things to all men;" not that he might "do good to all," but that he might catch votes from all. That celebrated diplomatist, Talleyrand, when asked what he considered was the design of language, answered, "It was to conceal one's thoughts when they did not wish them known." This seems to have been the principle of diplomacy and explanation pursued by Mr. Van Buren; and I will proceed to give some extracts, which squint in all directions.

*Rather a little for the Tariff.*—"My views in relation to the protective system, were also called for by the Shocco Springs meeting in 1832, and freely given. A conviction that the establishment of commercial regulations with a view to the encouragement of domestic interests, is within the constitutional power of Congress, was on that occasion distinctly avowed."

"Of the constitutional power to make discriminations, I have no doubt; equally clear it is, that the practice of making them has existed from the commencement of the Government, and constitutes a feature in every principal tariff bill which is to be found upon our statute book."

"If it be at any time deemed necessary or conducive to the safety of the country to encourage the manufacture at home of the articles necessary to its defence in war, nothing can be more proper than to do so by a discrimination in favor of their domestic manufactures, inasmuch as the object in view is to promote the safety of all at the expense of all."

*Apparently against the Tariff.*—"That the great body of the mechanics and laborers of every branch of business, whose welfare should be an object of unceasing solicitude on the part of every public man, have been the greatest sufferers by our high protective tariff, and would continue so to be, if that policy is persisted in, is to my mind too clear to require further elucidation."

\* "A protection, the indirect advantages of which to their (the manufacturers) interests, even under a tariff for protection, are as much the subject of doubt and disputation as they ever were, but for which those concerned in other pursuits have for a long series of years paid in advance, and received their equivalent in promises, of the performance of which they are not and do not seem likely to be soon satisfied."

*Almost entirely against Direct Taxes.*—"These, and other considerations, have given to the impost a preference in the public mind which would render the imposition of direct taxes in time of peace exceedingly odious, and have produced as great a degree of unanimity in favor of a tariff for revenue as ever can be expected upon a public question."

*Squinting in favor of Direct Taxation.*—Speaking of collecting revenue by impost duties, he says :

"It cannot, however, have escaped the attention of the manufacturers, that although no State or district of country may yet have taken ground against this mode of raising revenue for the support of Government, there are not wanting thousands of vigorous intellects, in every section of our extended country who, penetrated by a deep sense of the inequality and consequent injustice of its operation, are applying all the energies of their minds to the overthrow of the system itself."

These extracts, which might be indefinitely extended, show that Mr. Van Buren was endeavoring to curry favor with all parties. Whilst he was evidently seeking to please the advocates of free trade, he takes care not to break altogether with the protective tariff men ; and whilst he decidedly encourages the advocates of direct taxation, yet he quiets those opposed to it by saying there is no danger of its being adopted. He is practising his old game : running with the hare, yet following the hounds.

The course of Mr. Van Buren reminds me of one of our western hunting stories :

A couple of gentlemen by name of Hoffman and Cowan, both of whom were good shots, and not a little given to boasting of their skill, went out deer hunting. After getting into the woods where they expected to find deer, they separated. Shortly afterwards, Hoffman heard Cowan's gun fire, when he immediately went over to the place he heard the shot, expecting to have to help Cowan hang up a deer. He found Cowan very busy loading his gun, and shouted out—

"Hallo, Cowan, what did you shoot at?"

"It is none of your business Hoffman, go along over the hill."

Hoffman was surprised at this short answer, and in looking around, discovered a calf amongst the bushes, he again cried out—

"I say Cowan, did you shoot at that calf?"

"Yes, I did, but it is none of your business."

"Why, what made you shoot at it?"

"Why I took it for a deer."

"Well did you hit it?"

"No, I missed it."

"How came you to miss it?"

"Why I was'n't sure but what it was a calf."

"Well," said Hoffman bursting into a laugh, "you are a pretty hunter to shoot at a calf for a deer, and then miss it."

"See here, Hoffman," said Cowan, losing his temper, "I say, don't make a blamed fool of yourself, I shot at it just so as to hit it if it was a deer, and miss it if it was a calf."

It is just so with Mr. Van Buren. He so aimed his Indiana letter, that if it was a free trade man, he hit him plump ; but if it was a protective tariff man, he just missed him : if it was an advocate of direct taxation, he struck him fair ; but if it was such a calf as to oppose that system, then his gun was crooked just enough to shoot around him.

*Opposed to the present Tariff.*—Although Mr. Van Buren's Indiana letter was like the prophecies of the ancient oracles, which could be made to mean any thing, as circumstances might require ; yet there has been another letter of his, of a later date, published, which certainly was not written by him for that purpose, and which clearly shows that he is hostile to the present tariff, both in principle and details. Here it is :

ALBANY, February 28, 1843.

"MY DEAR SIR : I thank you kindly for your friendly letter. I have at no time, or any where, hesitated to express my decided disapprobation of the Tariff Act of last session, as well in respect to the principle

upon which it is founded, as to its details. In good time, you will have my views in respect to that and other subjects before the people. In the meantime, believe me to be, very sincerely, your friend and obedient servant,  
MARTIN VAN BUREN.

It is worthy of remark, that Mr. Van Buren does not state what *principle* in the tariff bill he is opposed to, or how he would have the *details* altered. Does he find fault with the principle of collecting revenue by a tariff law, and prefer direct taxation? Or does he want the duty on wool and salt increased? No one can tell; and although he promised to give his views "*in good time*" on this subject, yet *that good time* has never come; and if such a letter has been written, his kind friends have discovered that it will not do to expose it to the public eye.

I now call on the friends of Mr. Van Buren in this House, to say whether he is in favor of the "British Tariff Bill" which has been reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, and which ought to be entitled "*An act to support foreign paupers and enrich foreign manufacturers; and to beggar American farmers, mechanics, and manufacturers.*" If he is for this bill, the sooner the country knows it the better. His friends here are all-powerful. They can pass this bill as they did the "Bill to repeal the Distribution law," under the *gag law*, without permitting amendment, examination, or debate. But let them beware! There is a point of endurance beyond which the people will not permit their rights to be trampled on; and when they become convinced of the game which politicians are playing here, which would sacrifice the agricultural, mechanical, and manufacturing interests of the country, for the purpose of bolstering up the pretensions of Mr. Van Buren, and to secure to him the vote of the South and a re-election to the Presidency—they will rise with the majesty of an insulted people, and sweep from office, here and elsewhere, every vestige of Van Burenism.

But, Mr. Speaker, I must admit that I feel confident that all these free trade, tariff, and other political stratagems which are gotten up by his friends to deceive and mislead the people, will be perfectly powerless to revive the fallen fortunes of "the little Magician." *His wand is broken—his race is run.* It is sometimes ridiculous, and sometimes piteous, to listen to the lamentations of his admirers over his decaying prospects. On both sides of the ocean, we hear these lugubrious complaints; for it seems that even in England he has his advocates, who might almost vie in their admiration with the Troy Van Buren association. They feel a deep interest in his success. His election will inspire their hopes—his defeat will be the downfall of their schemes to make this nation the mere tributary of Great Britain.

It may be consoling to Mr. Van Buren's friends here to learn, that his friends in England deeply sympathize with them in their lamentations over his waning prospects of success. *The London Sun* of February last says:

"There seems to be a growing impression that nothing will be done relative to the Tariff until the new President is elected; and as Mr. Van Buren is understood to be favorable to a low tariff, we see with regret that his prospects are becoming "*small by degrees and beautifully less.*"

#### Defaulting Sub-Treasurers.

In document 122, 3d session 25th Congress, is a list of defaulting land officers. It is too long for insertion, but a few items will be given as a specimen of economical administration and safekeeping of the public moneys by "Leg-Treasurers."

Receivers.	Land Districts.	Date.	Balances due.
John H. Owens,	St. Stephens, Ala.,	1838	\$30,611
Wm. Linn,	Vandalia, Ill.,	1838	55,962
M. J. Allen,	Tallahassee, Fla.,	1839	26,691
Littlebury Hawkins,	Helena, Ark.,	1835	100,000
Wiley P. Harris,	Columbus, Miss.,	1836	109,178
Gordon D. Boyd,	Columbus, Miss.,	1837	50,937
J. W. Stephenson,	Galena, Ill.,	1837	43,294

Mr. Swartwout's defalcation is stated by Mr. Woodbury, in a report dated 6th December, 1838, at

Some of these defalcations occurred prior to Mr. V. B.'s administration, but all of them

occurred during the administration of the Treasury Department by Levi Woodbury, whom Mr. V. B. retained in office, on account of his *superior financial ability and success in managing the Leg-Treasury system.*

This list might be indiscriminately extended, but it is sufficient to remind the people of what would again occur if they restore Mr. Van Buren and his sub-Treasurers to office.

#### *Mr. Van Buren's Popularity,*

When Mr. Van Buren was elected, in 1836, with the aid of all the officers of the Government, together with all the influence which General Jackson possessed, and which was exerted in his behalf—

He received	-	-	-	-	-	764,747	votes.
His opponents received	-	-	-	-	-	736,172	"

His majority only	-	-	<u>26,575</u>
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This was at a time when there was no united organized opposition throughout the Union, as has taken place since.

At the election in 1840, when he had the patronage of the Government, and the whole army of Government officers and dependants, to aid his election—

General Harrison received	-	-	-	-	1,269,626	votes.
Mr. Van Buren received	-	-	-	-	1,126,137	"

Gen. Harrison's majority	-	<u>143,626</u>
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Of the electoral votes, Mr. Van Buren received sixty, and Gen. Harrison two hundred and thirty-four. Of the States, Mr. Van Buren had seven, and General Harrison nineteen.

He was beaten in every division of the Union; in the Northern, Middle, Southern, and Western States. And in New York, his own State, he was beaten 13,293.

It is not wonderful that such *overwhelming popularity*, accompanied with so *unparalleled a defeat*, should endear him to the old officers, and leeches, and rats, who have been pensioned upon the Government, by whom he had been sustained, and for whose benefit he had administered the Government. They naturally wish to fatten once more on the public crib. They desire a *restoration*, and expect to be restored to the fat offices and jobs from which they were driven, if the defeated Administration is restored to power; for the victory will not be complete, unless these same *Treasury leeches* are replaced at their old Treasury teats; and what instrument is so suitable for their purposes as "*The Great Rejected*"?

#### MR. VAN BUREN'S RESPECT FOR THE PEOPLE.

It has always been claimed for Mr. Van Buren that he had great regard for the people. And although he has shown as little regard for them as any other public man, yet he has never lost an opportunity of courting and flattering the people, as long as there was a probability of their being induced to sustain himself and his projects.

In his message of 9th December, 1837, he says:

"The national will is the supreme law of the Republic; and, on all subjects within the limits of his constitutional power, should be obeyed by the public servant."

Again: "The sober second thought of the people is seldom wrong, and is always efficient."

Such expressions were formerly lavished in profusion. But after his disastrous defeat by such an enormous majority, in 1840, his views of popular intelligence underwent a material change: "*The case being altered, it altered the case.*" Formerly, his own friends adopted and used banners, hickory brooms, &c.; then it was all right. In 1840, the Whigs amused themselves, and annoyed their opponents, with emblems also. The Van Burenites finding, after various trials, that there was neither *hurrah nor music* in his name, suddenly assumed to be *the exclusive decency and dignity party*. Consequently, they denounced cider barrels, as though they were kegs of powder; and log cabins, as if they were baronial castles; and Whig songs, as treason to the Government.

Mr. Van Buren has become emboldened by the assumption of *extra decency and dignity* by his friends, and has recently, in a letter in answer to a Harrisburg Committee, exhibited his true feelings towards the people. The Committee, in speaking of the canvass of 1840, says :

*"Then reason was dethroned, AND A WHIRLWIND OF PASSION, FOLLY, AND MADNESS, swept through the land. The deceived votary, like the wanderer in the desert led by the mirage, pressed on to grasp the delusive representation."*

In this libel on the people, Mr. Van Buren, in his response, thus acquiesces :

"I cannot, I am confident, add any thing to the *masterly and eloquent description* which you have given of the national struggle."

"Singular as it may seem to those who are not in a situation to judge correctly of the circumstances, it is nevertheless true, that a condemnation by the people of the United States, of many of the means to which our opponents had recourse in that canvass, *is not less important to the permanent welfare of our country, and its political institutions, than the overthrow of the principles they labored to establish.* While the effects of the success of the latter were in a measure limited and temporary, the employment of the former, struck at the very foundation upon which our political edifice was based."

Without more particularly noticing the *humiliating details* to which you allude in your communication, can it be pretended that there could be any expectation of success for such efforts, unless founded upon the assumption that the popular voice was not 'under the guidance of reason and virtue,' or upon the supposition, that the moral principles of the people to whom *those degrading appeals* were made, might be corrupted by a resort to such practices."

"Can we expect the people of this country to maintain the elevated standing in the eyes of the world, which they have hitherto enjoyed, if, after the lapse of years, and the fullest opportunity for reflection, they suffer themselves to be a second time operated upon by appliances, from the use of which every friend to free government *must turn with mortification and disgust?*"

Mr. Van Buren, in his whole letter, lays down no political principle, and gives his opinion upon no political question whatever ; but he gives the people who voted against him in 1840, very distinctly to understand, that he considers that at that time their "*reason was dethroned,*" and they were swept into the Whig ranks, by "*passion, folly, and madness.*" He very condescendingly lets them know that Whig Conventions, Log Cabins, and Whig Songs, are "*humiliating details,*" and "*degrading appeals,*" from which his *democratic soul* "*turns with mortification and disgust.*" How very consistent and complimentary are these remarks, to come from a *professed Democrat, and great lover of the DEAR PEOPLE*, because the People, in their "*sober second thought,*" had seen proper to dispense with his services !

Surely, those persons who voted against Mr. Van Buren in 1840, and the people at large, will have too great respect for the *squeamish stomach* of the "Little Magician," to again excite his "*mortification and disgust*" by voting against him in 1844 !!!

I must beg permission to tell Mr. Van Buren that he underrates the intelligence of the people, and overrates his own importance and influence, if he thinks, by such a tirade as this, to regain an influence over public opinion. No defeat was ever more overwhelming—none more deserved. And I will commend to his attention, as peculiarly applicable to the election of General Harrison in 1840, the concluding sentence of his message to the Legislature of New York, in 1829, on the election of General Jackson. It may call up some reflections, which are not the less true, because they are unpalatable.

"I beg leave to congratulate you, and through you, our constituents, *on the result of the late election* for President and Vice President of the United States ; a result which, while it infuses fresh vigor into our political system, and adds new beauties to the Republican character, once more refutes the *odious imputation* that *Republics are ungrateful*; dissipates the *vain hope* that our citizens *can be influenced* by aught save *appeals to their understanding and love of country*; and finally, exhibits in bold relief, the *omnipotence of public opinion*, and the *futility of all attempts to overawe it by the denunciations of power, or to seduce it by the ALLUREMENTS OF PATRONAGE.*"

M. VAN BUREN.

ALBANY, January 6, 1829.

### *Just Sentiments.*

On the 6th March, 1841, two days after Mr. V. B. had retired from the Presidential chair, having grown sick of politics, he wrote the following just sentiment in his letter to the General Assembly of Missouri :

"No one can expect or should desire to be always in office under a government and institutions like ours ; and I have enjoyed this privilege long enough to satisfy my utmost ambition."

It is to be regretted that the short respite Mr. V. B. has had from political life, has again enkindled his lust for power, and indomitable thirst for office; for he is doomed to be a disappointed man.

When Mr. Van Buren was on his tour to the West, in 1842, he crossed the Mississippi, and was welcomed by a leading Democrat, now an M. C. In his address he said:

*"You, sir, are the first President that ever crossed the Rubicon. You retired, in 1840, from the Presidential chair with the unanimous approbation of the American people."*

There is every reason to believe, that the American people heartily coincide with the sentiments contained in the extract from the Missouri letter, as well as in those uttered by the Missouri orator. Why, then, should politicians seek to drag him from the classic shades of "Lindenwald?"

### SONGS, BANNERS, &c.

Although I am aware that the bare mention of Songs and Banners will affect some gentlemen like the showing of water to a mad dog, and may cause them to rave somewhat out of time and tune, I must invite their attention to this subject. Permit me here to remark, that although the Whigs do use Songs and Banners, they do not pretend that such things can change votes. They have too high a regard for the sense and intelligence of voters to believe so. But when a man has read or listened until he has become convinced, it is as natural for him to sing a song, or make a banner expressive of his feelings, as it is for a man with a clear conscience, to have his face lit up with a smile, or as it is natural and appropriate in a handsome woman, to decorate herself with becoming apparel.

But it is not to Whig, but Locofoco Songs and Banners that I desire to invite attention. Some gentlemen suppose the people have forgotten the hickory poles, hickory brooms, and hickory bushes, which they formerly paraded on all occasions, and the pictures of a hog with which they headed their tickets, to influence their party to "go the whole hog" in elections? And even now, whenever one of their party is suspected of disaffection, do you not see him fasten himself on to a hickory stick, and *tote* it about as an emblem of his faithfulness? Why, sir, in 1840, those men who stand highest in the party of these self-finding gentry, resorted to the very same things which they now condemn. In Tennessee, they had their hickory bushes and *polk stalks*. During the canvass, and shortly preceding the election in 1840, Gen. Jackson was invited to a political meeting in Jackson, Tennessee, where he attended and made an address. Several thousand persons were present. A public dinner was also given. Well, sir, at this dinner, *a large ash-cake was baked, containing about three bushels of corn meal. This was put on the table, and a hickory bush stuck in the centre of it, and three plates put on the ash-cake, and all of these plates ate Gen. JACKSON, FELIX GRUNDY, and JAMES K. POLK.* Should this be questioned, I am authorized to refer to honorable gentlemen from Tennessee for its accuracy. These squeamish gentlemen must not understand me as finding fault with this arrangement. Whether a man prefers to eat off a table or an ash-cake, is altogether *a matter of taste*, and I am willing every man should consult his own. Yet, when any of these gentlemen again find fault with Whig banners and Whig *ash-poles*, do hope they will remember this *Jackson ash-cake*, with the hickory bush stuck in it. These gentlemen also seem to have forgotten the songs they used to sing in the halcyon days of Jacksonism. This is one of the secrets of their downfall. People that can't sing and rejoice, are already on the downward road to defeat. I have one of these old Jackson songs now before me, beginning "Jackson's a coming, oh, oh," which I used to hear the girls sing to the tune of "the Campbells are coming"—and a downright good song it is. But now, since the ladies, nearly to a man, have turned to be Clay-men, it is not surprising that those persons, who are so intent after "the loaves and fishes," should feel a holy horror at hearing a Whig song. These men who are hankering after the spoils of office, had just as well prepare themselves for "one of the tallest falls" they ever got in their lives, for we have the songs written, the music set, and pretty girls enough on our side to sing the last hope out of Van Burenism.

Occasionally, of late, these song-haters have endeavored to indulge in a locofoco song themselves. But whenever they have done so, it is both pitiful and sorrowful to hear the

miserable doggerel they have to sing. There is neither sense, metre, or music in it. A specimen of this occurred at "the great Jackson jubilee at Faneuil Hall," Boston, on the 15th of March inst. A copy of the proceedings has been sent to each of the Members of Congress in the "Boston Times," a Democratic paper. Mr Rantoul, Mr. Henshaw, Mr. Brownson, and the other leading locos participated in the meeting. After giving their speeches, the Times says:

"Mr. Butler was here called upon to sing the following song, which he did with inimitable effect accompanied by the band, *and the whole company joining in chorus*. The political allusions were very heartily cheered, and none more so than that in reference to 'Honest John Tyler.'"

The song is to long too give it all, but here is enough for a specimen of the poetry which seems to have delighted the fancy and pleased the taste of the locos of Boston—*that American Athens of music, literature, and refinement.*

### Tune—"OLD DAN TUCKER."

"Oh, den dey've got a mighty hos,  
Some want to put him on de course,  
De man wat killed old red Tecumseh—  
An den 'twill be with a rumsey, dumsey.  
Get out the way ole Kentucky!  
You're too late to come de sucky.

"An den dere's Cass, whose up to snuff,  
I guess he gib de British 'nough,  
He'll win de race like a young grey hound,  
An you'll hear him snort at ebry bound.  
Get out the way, &c.

"Now, uncle Pete, as you is from de Souf, and is consid'ble out ob bref, s'pose *you* lemonade on a varse 'bout de Soudern hos!

A varse 'bout de Soudern hos?  
Yes-s-s-s, a varse 'bout de Soudern hos.  
Berry well, herc's um.

"Oh, den dere's the Soudern hos Calhoun,  
Who eat ebry day some fifteen coon—  
To lick Kentuck dat hos is able,  
An nebber take he hind foot out de stable.  
So get out the way, &c.

"He-ah! he-ah! Hear him nigger! Eat ebry day some fifteen coon! Best to suck all dat?

"Guess he got some fur in he mouf, any way.  
Nebber mind dat—eat fifteen coon—*ebber day*  
you say, uncl Pete?  
Eberry day.

"Now Sam, as you is a real Wirginny nigger, you go ahead on a varse 'bout John Tyler. I shall hop to 'cover my bref by dat time.

Well, well, Is'e accomodate, sein its you.

"Dere's a 'ginny hos dey call John Tyler,  
Who bust, one day, ole Harry's biler;  
An truc as I sing dis same ole tune,  
He is de chap to whip de coon.  
—An den, you see, while poor ole Kentuck wa  
coffin' like de berry ole scratch, dem Lokies-  
chaw! chaw!—dey sing,  
Get out de way, &c.

"Now stand back, coon! I hab perfectly 'cove myself, and dis exhibition will be close by dis nigger, indiwidooly; come, den!

"Dere's Van—who's most as good as new—  
We've tried him once, and found him true—  
But who's de chap to whip ole Clay,  
We'll show de world dis coming May.  
Get out the way," &c.

Although the Bostonian locos appear to have been delighted with this song, it is not surprizing if they should become disgusted with hearing such miserable doggerel repeated. More especially as it seems they have to get a "nigger" to lead the tune, while they "*join in the chorus*."

It is to be presumed, however, that as this was a very genteel collection of the choicest spirits of Bostonian Democracy, that the "gemman of color," who figured on that occasion, belonged to that class of colored gentlemen of "elegant leisure and refined accomplishments," to whom Mr. Van Buren extended the right of voting in New York. I would respectfully suggest to the gentleman from Ohio, (Dr. DUNCAN,) whether this scene in Faneuil Hall, would not make another excellent picture for the *third* edition of his speech.

This reminds me of the fascinating picture exhibited by the gentleman from Ohio, (Dr. DUNCAN,) of what he termed a dissected coon, which threw into convulsive ecstasies, so many of his loco friends. I am surprised that he tried to pass that dead animal off for a coon. Calling it a coon don't make it so. If you were to call its tail a leg, it would not make it have five legs. No, sir, that dead animal was the "*Red Fox of Kinderhook*." It could not have been "that same old coon," for he is alive and playing his pranks as briskly as ever. We have already ascertained, that since the commencement of this Congress he has stretched out *thirteen Locofoco Roosters*, who were endeavoring to fly up into this Hall. And from the continued cackling and squawking we hear from

these fowls all over the country, it is very evident that "the same old coon" is the living terror of all locofoco dunghill chickens.

The learned Doctor spoke of the "disordered state of the various organs," exhibited on dissection of the dead animal. I had supposed the gentleman was backwoodsman enough to know, that symptom is always exhibited in animals that are smoked to death. And it is proof positive, that the animal he exhibited was the Red Fox which was smoked out of his hole in the White House in 1840, by the smoke from the "Log Cabins" of the country.

The gentleman and other learned doctors are trying to "*restore*" their patient. The very character of their prescriptions exhibits the desperate nature of the disease. They are giving local applications of "Garbled accounts of duelling." "Kendall's Henbane—being the Distilled Essence of locofoco malignity." "The Compound and Corrupt Extract of *Providential dispensations*." These violent poisons may produce both action and motion, yet the clenched fist, the distorted countenance, and spasmodic struggles of the patient, give conclusive proof that it is not the easy and natural effort of returning life, but a vain attempt to resuscitate "a galvanized corpse."

#### *The Last Sketch.*

Every man, by the time he reaches years of maturity, has adopted a *character* which he acts out in after life. The one which Mr. V. B. has assumed, is that of being *consistent in inconsistencies*. The fabulous characters of Ancient History are invested with various attributes to show their power or their versatility. Briarius is said to have had a hundred arms—Argus a hundred eyes—Janus two faces, and Proteus to have assumed every imaginable shape at will. It was reserved to Mr. V. B. to excel them all. For, having but a single face, and one pair of arms, he can so control the expression of his countenance, and so manage his pen, that he looks and writes all ways at once—shakes hands with a hundred men at the same time, on different sides of him; and his countenance seems to smile, at the same instant, sentiments of approbation on men of every shade of character and opinion. He can glide through a crowd, and shake hands with every man in it, and "leave less sign" and more doubt in the minds of the people whether they have actually taken him by the hand, than any other man in the world. Though studiously polite, no one ever knows whether he is in earnest, or what are his opinions, from his ordinary conversation. All other prominent political men of our country have pursued such a system of policy during their political career, that when a new question was broached, it was generally easy to foresee, on which side they would be found. Not so with Mr. Van Buren. Should he be re-elected, and any new question of importance should arise, neither friend nor foe could more than guess what course he would pursue. Even now, upon the subjects which are agitating the country, no man can feel authorized to say what are his opinions upon the Tariff—what kind of a currency he is for—or what should be done with the reception and reference of abolition petitions.

If there is any thing of which Mr. V. B. can be strictly said to be the author, it is of the system of party drill which was begun in New York, and which has been adopted by his party throughout the Union. It is as perfect a system of organization as our army, extending its influence from Presidential conventions, to the smallest town meeting. By it, orders issued from the higher committees are conveyed to, and carried out, in the county and town conventions; and for this implicit obedience to orders, the "Old Hunkers," as the drill sergeants of the party are styled, expect to be, and are, rewarded with appointments to office. It is by this system, that Mr. V. B. expects to be re-elected. It is well known that a large majority of his own party are opposed to his renomination. But what will that avail? It has already been decreed that he must be nominated. And although the mass of the party are against him, the leaders and managers are for him. The reason is obvious. They know that if he is re-elected, that appointments will be made *after the old order of succession*. The "Old Hunkers" will be first provided for, and the power will be given to these managers and leaders to fill all the offices in their districts. And the "Young Democracy" which is seeking to participate in public life, is to be put down or thrust out of the Party.

But, sir, will all this manœuvring and party drill avail to effect its purpose? Answer me first, whether the people have forgotten the profligate waste of public money which took place during his administration? Have they forgotten the thousands and tens of thousands of dollars which were stolen by his defaulting sub-Treasurers? Can they forget the systematic efforts which were persisted in, to concentrate all power over the purse and sword of the nation, in the hands of the President and his subordinate executive officers? Have they forgotten, nay, can they ever forget, the universal dismay and ruin, resulting from the disastrous experiments of Mr. V. B. and his party, which swept away the fortunes and hopes of the people, as the growing grain is destroyed by the blight and mildew of Heaven? Have they yet forgotten how he mocked them in the midst of their calamities, and tauntingly told them, "That all communities are apt to look to the Government for too much"? Nay, sir, can the American people ever forget, that he has since added insult to injury, by telling them that, in displacing him from power in 1840, their "reason was dethroned," and they were led astray by a "whirlwind of passion, folly, and madness;" because, in the exercise of one of their invaluable rights, they dared to remove him from office, and exalt in his stead an honest and war-worn soldier? Are the people ready to revoke the verdict they gave in 1840, and are they now prepared to write down in the poll books the evidence of *their own stultification*? When all these questions are answered in the affirmative, then, and not until then, will Martin Van Buren be restored to power.

## APPENDIX.

### THE FIRST UNITED STATES BANK.

The following statement shows *how many* and *who* of the framers of the Constitution participated in the establishment of the first United States Bank—and the manner of their participation:

*For it*—GEORGE WASHINGTON, President; Alexander Hamilton, Sec'y Treasury; John Langdon, John Dickinson, Rufus King, Robert Morris, Richard Bassett, Wm. Sml. Johnson, Senators; George Clymer, Nicholas Gilman, Roger Sherman, Thomas Fitzsimons, Representatives—12.

*Against it*—Pierce Butler, William Few, Senators; Abraham Baldwin, Daniel Carroll, Hugh Williamson, James Madison, Representatives—6.

The bill passed the House of Representatives—yeas 39, nays 20; do. the Senate—yeas 18, nays 5.

Thus it will be seen, that, of the thirty-nine persons who framed the Constitution of the United States eighteen participated in official capacities in the establishment of the first United States Bank. And James Madison, who was against the first Bank; afterwards sanctioned the second U. S. Bank, which makes thirteen of the framers of the Constitution for the constitutionality and expediency of a U. S. Bank, and only five against it, on either constitutional or other grounds.

### THE SECOND UNITED STATES BANK, CHARTERED IN 1816.

The following statement shows the *number* and *names* of all the Senators and Representatives who voted *for* and *against* the second United States Bank, in 1816—the names of the Federalists being in *italics*.

Those who voted in the affirmative, are—

Messrs. Adgate, of N. Y., Alexander, Ohio, *Atherton*, N. H., *Baer*, Md., Betts, N. Y., *Boss*, R. I., *Bradbury*, Mass., *Brown*, Mass., Calhoun, S. C., Cannon, Tenn., *Champion*, Conn., Chappell, S. C., Clark, N. C., Clark, Ken., Clendenin, Ohio, Comstock, N. J., Condict, N. J., Conner, Mass., Creighton, Ohio, Crocheron, N. Y., Cuthbert, Geo., Edwards, N. C., Forney, N. C., Forsyth, Geo., Gholson, Va., Griffin, Penn., *Grosvenor*, N. Y., Hawes, Va., Henderson, Tenn., Huger, S. C., *Hulbert*, Mass., Hungerford, Va., Ingham, Penn., Irving, N. Y., Jackson, Va., *Jewett*, Vt., Kerr, Va., King, N. C., Love, N. C., Lowndes, S. C., Lumpkin, Geo., Maclay, Penn., *Mason*, R. I., McCoy, Va., McKee, Ken., Middleton, S. C., Moore,\* *Moseley*, Conn., Murfree, N. C., *Nelson*, Mass., Parris, Mass., Pickens, N. C., Pinkney, Md., Piper, Penn., Robertson, Lou., Sharpe, Ken., Smith, Md., Smith, Va., Southard, N. J., Taul, Ken., Taylor, N. Y., Taylor, S. C., Telfair, Geo., Thomas, Tenn., Throop, N. Y., Townsend, N. Y., Tucker, Va., Ward, N. J., Wendover, N. Y., *Wheaton*, Mass., Wilde, Geo., Wilkin, N. Y., Williams, N. C., Willoughby, N. Y., Thos. Wilson, Penn., Wm. Wilson, Penn., Woodward, S. C., Wright, Md., Yancey, N. C., Yates, N. Y.—80.

Those who voted in the negative, are—

Messrs. Baker, of N. J., Barbour, Va., Bassett, Va., Bennett, N. J., Birdsall, N. Y., Blount, Tenn., *Brackenridge*, Va., Burnside, Penn., Burwell, Va., *Cady*, N. Y., Caldwell, Ohio, *Cilley*, N. H., *Clayton*, Del., Clopton, Va., *Cooper*, Del., Crawford, Penn., *Culpeper*, N. C., Darlington, Penn., *Davenport*, Conn., Desha, Ken., *Gaston*, N. C., *Gold*, N. Y., *Goldsborough*, Md., Goodwin, Va., Hahn,

\* Thomas Moore was from South Carolina, and Nicholas R. Moore from Maryland, one of whom only voted on this question; but which it was, it is not easy to discover, as they are not distinguished in the Journals by their Christian names.

Penn., *Hale*, N. H., *Hall*, Geo., *Hanson*, Md., *Hardin*, Ken., *Herbert*, Md., *Hopkinson*, Penn., *Johnson*, Va., *Kent*, N. Y., *Langdon*, Vt., *Law*, Conn., *Lewis*, Va., *Lovett*, N. Y., *Lyle*, Penn., *Lyon*, Vt., *Marsh*, Vt., *Mayrant*, S. C., *McLean*, Ken., *McLean*, Ohio, *Milnor*, Penn., *Newton*, Va., *Noyes*, Vt., *Ormsby*, Ken., *Pickering*, Mass., *Pitkin*, Conn., *Randolph*, Va., *Reed*, Mass., *Root*, N. Y., *Ross*, Penn., *Ruggles*, Mass., *Savage*, N. Y., *Sergeant*, Penn., *Sheffey*, Va., *Smith*, Penn., *Stanford*, N. C., *Stearns*, Mass., *Strong*, Mass., *Sturges*, Conn., *Taggart*, Mass., *Tallmadge*, Conn., *Vose*, N. H., *Wallace*, Penn., *Ward*, Mass., *Ward*, N. Y., *Webster*, N. H., *Whiteside*, Penn., *Wilcox*, N. H.—71.

The foregoing designation of the politics of the members of the Congress of 1816, is taken from a table in Niles' Register, taken while that Congress was in session, and is believed to be correct.

It will thus be seen that 19 Senators and 67 Representatives, making 86 of the Republican party, voted for the Bank. And 5 Senators and 30 Representatives, making 35 of the Republican party, voted against it. Whilst only 3 Senators and 13 Representatives, making 16 Federalists, voted for the Bank. And 7 Senators and 41 Representatives, making 48 Federalists, voted against it.

The above compilation has been carefully prepared by a friend and constituent of Mr. H., and corresponds substantially with the classification of the same vote made out by the Editors of the National Intelligencer, in their paper of August 8th, 1840.

In 1832, the bill to recharter the United States Bank passed the Senate by a vote of 28 to 14, and the House by a vote of 107 to 85. This bill was vetoed by President Jackson.

#### TARIFF OF MAY 22, 1824.

April 16, 1824, passed the House of Representatives: yeas 107, nays 102. (See Journal 18th Congress, 1st session, page 428.)

YEAS: *Maine*—David Kidder; *New Hampshire*—Aaron Matson; *Massachusetts*—Henry W. Dwight; *Rhode Island*—Job Durfee, Samuel Eddy; *Connecticut*—Noyes Barber, Ansel Sterling, Ebenezer Stoddard, Gideon Tomlinson, Lemuel Whitman; *Vermont*—William C. Bradley, Daniel A. A. Buck, Samuel C. Crafts, Rollin C. Mallary, Charles Rich; *New York*—Parmenio Adams, John W. Cady, Lot Clark, E'a Collins, Hector Craig, Lewis Eaton, John Herkimer, Moses Hayden, Lemuel Jenkins, Samuel Lawrence, Dudley Marvin, Henry C. Martindale, John Richards, Robert R. Rose, Peter Sharpe, Henry R. Storrs, James Strong, John W. Taylor, Egbert Ten Eyck, Albert H. Tracy, Jacob Tyson, William Van Wyck, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Silas Wood, William Woods, Jno. J. Morgan; *New Jersey*—George Cassedy, Lewis Condict, Daniel Garrison, George Holcombe, James Matlack, Samuel Swan; *Pennsylvania*—James Allison, John Brown, James Buchanan, Samuel Edwards, William Cox Ellis, Patrick Farrelly, Jno. Findlay, Walter Forward, Robert Harris, George Kremer, Joseph Hemphill, Philip S. Markeley, Samuel McKean, Daniel H. Miller, James S. Mitchell, Thomas Patterson, George Plumer, Thomas J. Rogers, Andrew Stewart, Jno. Tod, Daniel Udree, Isaac Wayne, James Wilson, Henry Wilson; *Delaware*—Louis McLane; *Maryland*—Peter Little, Isaac McKim, George E. Mitchell; *Virginia*—Joseph Johnson; *Kentucky*—Richard A. Buckner, Robert P. Henry, Francis Johnson, Jno. T. Johnson, Robert P. Letcher, Thomas P. Moore, Thomas Metcalfe, Philip Thompson, David Trimble, David White, Charles A. Wickliffe; *Tennessee*—Adam R. Alexander, Samuel Houston; *Ohio*—Mordecai Bartley, Philemon Beecher, Jno. W. Campbell, James W. Gazlay, Duncan McArthur, William McLean, Jno. Patterson, Jno. Sloane, Thomas R. Ross, Joseph Vance, Samuel F. Vinton, E. Whittlesey, William Wilson, John C. Wright; *Indiana*—William Prince, Jno. Test; *Illinois*—Daniel P. Cook; *Missouri*—Jno. Scott.—107.

NAYS: *Maine*—William Burleigh, Joshua Cushman, Ebenezer Herrick, Enoch Lincoln, Stephen Longfellow, Jeremiah O'Brien; *New Hampshire*—Ichabod Bartlett, Matthew Harvey, Arthur Livermore, William Plumer, Thomas Whipple, jr; *Massachusetts*—Samuel C. Allen, Francis Baylies, Timothy Fuller, Aaron Hobart, Samuel Lathrop, Jno. Locke, Jeremiah Nelson, John Reed, Jonas Sibley, Daniel Webster, Benjamin W. Crowninshield; *Connecticut*—Samuel A. Foot; *New York*—C. C. Cambreleng, Rowland Day, Justin Dwinell, Charles A. Foot, Joel Frost, James L. Hogeboom, Elisha Litchfield, Isaac Williams; *Pennsylvania*—Samuel Breck; *Maryland*—William Hayward, jr., Joseph Kent, John Lee, Raphael Neale, Jno. S. Spence, Henry R. Warfield; *Virginia*—Mark Alexander, William S. Archer, P. P. Barbour, Jno. S. Barbour, Burwell Bassett, Jno. Floyd, Robert G. Garnett, Jabez Leftwich, William McCoy, Charles F. Mercer, Thomas Newton, Jno. Randolph, William C. Rives, Arthur Smith, William Smith, Alexander Smythe, Andrew Stevenson, J. Stephenson, Jno. Taliaferro, George Tucker, Jared Williams; *North Carolina*—Hutchins G. Burton, Henry W. Connor, Jno. Culpeper, W. N. Edwards, Alfred M. Gatlin, Thomas H. Hall, Jno. Long, W. P. Mangum, R. M. Saunders, Richard D. Spaight, Robert B. Vance, Charles Hooks, Lewis Williams; *South Carolina*—Jno. Carter, Robert Campbell, Joseph Gist, A. R. Govan, James Hamilton, George McDuffie, J. R. Poinsett, Starling Tucker, Jno. Wilson, Joel Abbot, George Cary, Thomas W. Cobb, Alfred Cuthbert, Jno. Forsyth, Ed. F. Tattnall, Wiley Thompson; *Tennessee*—Robert Allen, Jno. Blair, Jno. Cocke, Jacob C. Isacks, James B. Reynolds, J. T. Stanford, James Standefer; *Louisiana*—William L. Brent, Henry H. Gurley, Edw. Livingston; *Alabama*—Jno. McKee, Gabriel Moore, George W. Owen; *Mississippi*—Christopher Rankin.—102.

May 13, 1824, passed the Senate: yeas 25, nays 21. (See Journal of Senate, 1st session 18th Congress, page 401.)

YEAS: *Maine*—Jno. Chandler, Jno. Holmes; *New Hampshire*—Samuel Bell; *Rhode Island*—James D'Wolf, Nehemiah R. Knight; *Connecticut*—Henry W. Edwards, James Lanman; *Vermont*—William A. Palmer, Horatio Seymour; *New York*—Martin Van Buren; *New Jersey*—Mahlon Dickerson, Joseph McIlvaine; *Pennsylvania*—William Findlay, Walter Lowrie; *Kentucky*—Richard M. Johnson, Isham

Talbot; *Tennessee*—John H. Eaton, Andrew Jackson; *Ohio*—Ethan Allen Brown, Benjamin Ruggles; *Indiana*—James Noble, Waller Taylor; *Illinois*—Jesse B. Thomas; *Missouri*—David Barton, Thomas H. Benton—25.

**YAYS:** *New Hampshire*—John F. Parrott; *Massachusetts*—James Lloyd, Elijah Mills; *New York*—Rufus King; *Delaware*—Thomas Clayton, Nicholas Van Dyke; *Maryland*—Samuel Smith; *Virginia*—James Barbour, Jno. Taylor; *North Carolina*—Jno. Branch, Nathaniel Macon; *South Carolina*—John Gaillard, Robert Y. Hayne; *Georgia*—Jno. Elliott, Nicholas Ware; *Louisiana*—Henry Johnson, Josiah S. Johnston; *Alabama*—William Kelly, William R. King; *Mississippi*—David Holmes, Thomas H. Williams—21.

### TARIFF OF MAY 19, 1828.

April 22, 1828, passed the House of Representatives: yeas 105, nays 94. (See Journal 1st session 20th Congress, page 607.)

**YEAS:** *New Hampshire*—Titus Brown, Jonathan Harvey, Joseph Healy, Thomas Whipple, jr.; *Massachusetts*—Benjamin W. Crowninfield, Henry W. Dwight; *Rhode Island*—Tristram Burges; *Connecticut*—John Baldwin, Noyes Barber, Orange Merwin, Elisha Phelps; *Vermont*—Daniel A. A. Buck, Jonathan Hunt, Rollin C. Mallary, Benjamin Swift, George E. Wales; *New York*—Daniel D. Barnard, George O. Belden, Rudolph Bunner, Samuel Chase, John C. Clark, John J. De Graff, Jonas Earll, jr., Daniel G. Garnsey, Nathaniel Garrow, S. R. Hobbie, Michael Hoffman, Richard Keese, John Magee, Henry Markell, Henry C. Martindale, Dudley Marvin, Henry R. Storrs, John G. Stower, James Strong, John W. Taylor, Phineas L. Tracy, Stephen Van Rensselaer, John J. Wood, Silas Wood, John D. Dickinson, David Woodcock, Silas Wright, jr.; *New Jersey*—Lewis Condict, Isaac Pierson, Samuel Swan, Hedge Thompson, Ebenezer Tucker; *Pennsylvania*—Samuel Anderson, Stephen Barlow, James Buchanan, Richard Coulter, Chauncey Forward, Joseph Fry, Innis Green, Adam King, Joseph Lawrence, S. McKean, Daniel H. Miller, Charles Mincer, John Mitchell, Robert Orr, jr., William Ramsey, John Sergeant, James S. Stevenson, John B. Sterigere, Andrew Stewart, Joel B. Sutherland, Espy Van Horn, James Wilson, George Wolf; *Delaware*—Kensley Johns, jr.; *Maryland*—Peter Little; *Virginia*—William Armstrong, Isaac Leffler, Lewis Maxwell; *Kentucky*—Richard A. Buckner, Thomas Chilton, James Clark, Henry Daniel, Joseph Lecompte, Robert P. Letcher, Chittenden Lyon, Robert M. Hatton, Thomas Metcalfe, Thomas P. Moore, Charles A. Wickliffe, Joel Yancey; *Ohio*—Philemon Beecher, William Creighton, jr., John Davenport, James Findlay, William McLean, William Russell, John Sloane, William Stanberry, Joseph Vance, Samuel F. Vinton, Elisha Whittlesey, John Woods, John C. Wright; *Indiana*—Thomas H. Blake, Jona. Jennings, Oliver H. Smith; *Illinois*—Joseph Duncan—105.

**NAYS:** *Maine*—John Anderson, Samuel Butman, Rufus McIntire, Jeremiah O'Brien, James W. Ripley, Peleg Sprague, Joseph F. Wingate; *New Hampshire*—David Barker, jr., Ichabod Bartlett; *Massachusetts*—Samuel C. Allen, John Bailey, Isaac C. Bates, John Davis, Edward Everett, Benjamin Gorham, James L. Hodges, John Locke, John Reed, Joseph Richardson, John Varnum; *Rhode Island*—Duttee J. Pearce; *Connecticut*—R. I. Ingersoll, David Plant; *New York*—C. C. Cambreleng, John Hallock, jr., Jeromus Johnson, Thomas J. Oakley, G. C. Verplanck, Aaron Ward; *Maryland*—Clement Dorsey, Levin Gale, John Leeds Kerr, George C. Washington, John C. Weems; *Virginia*—Mark Alexander, Robert Allen, William S. Archer, P. P. Barbour, N. H. Claiborne, Thomas Davenport, William McCoy, Charles F. Mercer, Thomas Newton, John Randolph, William C. Rives, John Roane, Alexander Smythe, John Taliaferro, James Trezvant; *North Carolina*—Willis Alston, Daniel L. Barringer, John H. Bryan, Samuel P. Carson, Henry W. Conner, John Culpeper, Thomas H. Hall, Gabriel Holmes, John Long, Lemuel Sawyer, Augustine H. Shepperd, Daniel Turner, Lewis Williams; *South Carolina*—John Carter, Warren R. Davis, William Drayton, James Hamilton, jr., William D. Martin, George McDuffie, William T. Nuckolls, Starling Tucker; *Georgia*—John Floyd, Tomlinson Fort, Charles E. Haynes, Wilson Lumpkin, Wiley Thompson, Richard H. Wilde, George R. Gilmer; *Tennessee*—John Bell, John Blair, David Crockett, Robert Desha, Jacob C. Isaacs, Pryor Lea, John H. Marable, James C. Mitchell, James K. Polk; *Louisiana*—William L. Brent, Henry H. Gurley, Edward Livingston; *Alabama*—John McKee, Gabriel Moore, George W. Owen; *Missouri*—Edward Bates; *Mississippi*—William Haile—94.

May 13, 1828, passed the Senate by the following vote; yeas 26, nays 21. (See Journal of the Senate, 1st session 20th Congress, page 410.)

**YEAS:** *Massachusetts*—Daniel Webster; *Rhode Island*—Nehemiah R. Knight; *Connecticut*—Samuel A. Foot, Calvin Willey; *Vermont*—Dudley Chase, Horatio Seymour; *New York*—Nathan Sanford, Martin Van Buren; *New Jersey*—Mahlon Dickerson, Ephraim Bateman; *Pennsylvania*—Isaac D. Barnard, William Marks; *Delaware*—Louis McLane, Henry M. Ridgley; *Kentucky*—Richard M. Johnson, John Rowan; *Tennessee*—John H. Eaton; *Ohio*—William H. Harrison, Benjamin Ruggles; *Louisiana*—Dominique Boulligny; *Indiana*—William Hendricks, James Noble; *Illinois*—Elias K. Kane, Jesse B. Thomas; *Missouri*—David Barton, Thomas H. Benton—26.

**NAYS:** *Maine*—John Chandler, Albion K. Parris; *New Hampshire*—Levi Woodbury; *Massachusetts*—Nathaniel Silsbee; *Rhode Island*—Asher Robbins; *Maryland*—Ezekiel F. Chambers, Samuel Smith; *Virginia*—Littleton W. Tazewell, John Tyler; *North Carolina*—John Branch, Nathaniel Macon; *South Carolina*—Robert Y. Hayne, William Smith; *Georgia*—John M. Berrien, Thomas W. Cobb; *Tennessee*—Hugh L. White; *Louisiana*—Josiah S. Johnston; *Alabama*—William R. King, John McKinley; *Mississippi*—Powhatan Ellis; Thomas H. Williams—21.